hand	hath	hath	hāth	hath	hath	hathi	hath
foot	pair	par	khur	pko	khur	khur	khur
eye	akhi —	nak	nak	nak	nak	nast	nah
tooth	dand	akh	akhi	sisi	ach *and* akh	ash	ā **
ear	kan	mūh	kāhā	ūi	as	ans	dand
hair	wāl	dand	dhat	dand	dand	dand	kan
head	sir	kan	kan	kan	kan	kan	wāl
belly	jīb	wāl	(kash *and* pe-pharāh)	wāl	sharwār ††	kī	kal
leg	dēd	sir	shir	dog	rot	lath	sar
knee	pīth	jīb	jīb	nīb	jīb	zeo	yad
hand	hāth	dēd	pat	dēd	pat	yad	shānā
eye	nāk	kand	pīth	pīth	pīth	shāna	shistar
silver	rupā	hāth	hāh	hāth	hāh	shongo	sen
father	pyā	rupā	rupā	rupā	rupā	sīn	rup
mother	māi	pyā	hāhā	pyā	hāhā	hāhā	hah, moi, mā hāhā
brother	brā	mā	ammā *and* lyā	haiyā	ijā *or* ij	ammā	māi, dāi,*** mā āpā
sister	bahīn	brā	bhrā	glā	bā *and* bhāi ‡‡	bhāiji *and* bhāi §§	bāi
		bahin	bahin	bahin	dad *and* bahīn §§	(bhingadi *and* bahīn ¶¶	bain *and* bāndāi ***

* Often used in the plural, thus: *ātā vīshī*, eight score.

† Fem. sing., *mari*; mas. plu., *marā*; fem. plu., *mariyān*.

‡ *as* = these, *ān* = those.

§ I am not sure whether this is not *āg*.

‖ There is a vowel-sound in Kashmīri which is not provided for in the alphabetical system used for the other dialects; it is like the *eu* in French, or *ö* in German; or it may be said to be like *o* in Hindustāni, elongated, but not elongated in such a way as to make it like *ā*; I have provisionally put *ō* to represent it.

¶ For "his" I have also known, and for "theirs" I have known *hund*.

** The character *ā* used in the Kashmīri vocabulary, denotes a very broad sound, as in the English "awl," somewhat different from that of *ā*; Sir G. Campbell makes the same distinction.

†† The side-locks are called *pātet*.

‡‡ *bāi* = elder brother; *bhāi* = younger brother.

§§ *dad* = elder sister; *bahīn* = younger sister.

¶¶ *bhingadi* = elder sister; *bahīn* = younger sister.

*** *ā* for the Kashmīri language denotes a sound like that of the *o* in *tone*.

197 [60]

14 Drew G-3 (1862-1872) 1875 AV1 Kashmir AV,
191 [601]

VOCABULARIES COMPARED—*continued*.

English.	Dialects of the Outer Hills.		Dialects of the Middle Mountains.				Kashmír.
	Dogrí.	Chibhálí.	Rámbaní.	Bhadarwáhí.	Pádarí.	Kishtwárí.	Kashmíri.
man	ádmi	ádmi *and* janá	mánú	mahánú	mán	mán	mányu
woman	janáni	trimat	zanán	kwañah	giún	—	zenán
wife	latrí	—	—	kwañah *and* klí	zel	manáh	kulai *and* šahan
child							nichu *and* gubar
son	putar	pútar	lokú	ko	kwá	ahúr	kor *and* kúr
daughter	dhí	dhí	kúrí	kní	kúí	kuví	ghulám
slave	ghulám, banda	—	pálak *and* kamá	—	—	—	gurusé
cultivator	jamíndar	zamíndár	zamíndár	zamíndár	jamíndár	zamíndar	phál
shepherd	—	pálá *and* gwálá	gwál	gáddi *and* puhál	gwál *and* phál	gwál	ášudá
God	parmeshwar	ishwár	parmeshar	parmeshar	parmesar	—	mashelán
devil	—	shaitán	masán	*none*	*none*	—	ákhtáb
sun	súraj	di	súrj	diháro	dis	akhtáb	zún
moon	chand	chan	chándni	chándni	chandni	tsandar	tárak
star	tárá	tárá	tárá	tárá	tárá	tárak	nár
fire	ag	ag	ág	ág	ág	nár	áb
water	jal	páni	páni	páni	páni	páli	ghór *and* kór
house	ghar	ghar	ghar *and* gí	ghar	obar, ghar, *and* gí	gharo	gur
horse	ghorá	ghorá	ghorá	ghoro	ghorá	gúr	gáo
cow	gáo	gá	gáo	gau *and* baisi	gá	—	hún
dog	kutiá	kutiá	ahúná	kuttar	kuttar (*f.* kuttari)	hon	brer
cat	billí	billí	bilár	billá (*f.* billí)	balá (*f.* balái)	brár	kokar
cock	kukar†	kukar	kukar	kukar	kukar	koka	batak
duck	batak	batak	batak	batak	—	—	ástar
ass	khotá	khotá	khotá	khoto (*f.* khoti)	—	khar	úút
camel	úút	uht	—	úht	—	—	
bird	pakru	pakrú	pakrú	pakrú	pakrú		
go	ja	(juliyá *and* gachiyá‡)	gá	gá	gá	gats	gats
eat	khá	khá	khá	khá	khá	khlá	khe

113, 631, 642, 648 Kashmir AV1

[For information concerning temporary provisions in the Indian Constitution of 1950 pertaining to the State of Jammu and Kashmir, see 43: Santhanam, AW1 India, category 116, pp. 302-304.]

631 ●
113

Kashmir AV1

[For information on the Kashmiri administration of Ladak, see 2: Ramsay, AJ4 West Tibetans, category 116, pp 24-25, 43--Analyst]

1: Drew G-3 (1862-1872) 1875 AV1 Kashmir AV1

114 121 may find his way through what is the really complicated geography of a tract which is large in extent and varied in character.

There is no large part of this country that is altogether unknown to the Western world. There is hardly any place we shall reach that has not been visited, and few places that have not been measured, by Englishmen who have preceded me. Many of the previous travellers, too, have given to the public the results of their observations. If I were writing a compilation from their books and memoirs, or if I were attempting to consolidate their information with my own, this would be the place to enumerate their various works. But as I propose rather to give a simple version of what I myself observed, whether it be the same as, or whether it be different from, what has before been told, I shall only refer to other writers where I have been distinctly indebted to them, or where it may be necessary to comment on their facts or their conclusions.

101 I have confined myself in this account to the territories of the [631] Maharaja of Kashmir, for the reason that my travels in the [643] Himalayas were almost entirely restricted to them. This ruler has for his full title "Maharaja of Jummoo and Kashmir." By the Panjābis he is most commonly called after the former place, by Englishmen after the latter. It is this last practice which has led Englishmen at home to confound "Kashmir" with the whole of the territories. This mistake (which has unfortunately found its way into the maps of India) I try to guard against by using for my book the title "Jummoo and Kashmir Territories," and by restricting the use of the word "Kashmir" to the very defined tract that from time immemorial has borne the name. It must be understood, moreover, that the above title held by the Maharaja is not complete as denoting all the territories ruled by him; for these include, besides the Jummoo districts and Kashmir, the more distant countries of Ladākh, Baltistān, and Gilgit, all of which will come under our notice.

131 The relationship, physical and political, of this tract with X135 India now deserves our attention. The map of India, given with this book, will help us to understand its position at the edge of

[cf. category III End Map I -- Analyst]

1: Drew G-3 (1862-1872) 1875 AV1 Kashmir AV1

the great plain of India which sweeps unbroken from the mouths of the Ganges to the western part of the Panjāb, continuously skirted on the north by the Himalaya Range, which has a direction varying in a curve from east and west to south-east and north-west. It is the last strip of the plain and the wide mass of the mountains on the north of the Panjāb that make up the territory. Politically, it is a government tributary to the Queen, with relations defined by certain treaties, which will be more fully spoken of hereafter, but whose result may here be said to be that the ruler is obliged to govern his foreign politics according to the views of the Government of India, while in domestic administration he is nearly independent.

Measurements of the territory show it to have a length in one direction, from south-east to north-west, of close on 400 miles, and at right angles to that, from south-west to north-east, of 350 miles. Measured from south to north it may be said to extend for 240 miles from lat. 32° 30′ to lat. 36° N.; and from east to west, for 350 or 400 miles, from long. 73° 30′ to 80° E.; these, however, must be taken only as general measurements, the irregularity of outline prevents a more definite statement in brief. The area I estimate at 68,000 square miles.

The form of the ground we have endeavoured to represent on the maps both by careful attention to the hill-shading and by the statement of the heights of certain positions. Under the heading of each tract described much will be said on this subject; but at this stage it is advisable to give a slight sketch of the vertical geography of the whole area.

The lowest part is the strip of plain on the south-west, which is continuous with the great level plain of the Panjāb; it is 900 or 1000 feet above the sea.

The mountains begin along a very definite line. The first ridge is a line of hill from 1000 to 2000 feet above the plain, that is to say 2000 or 3000 feet above the sea. Next comes a tract of rugged country, which includes various ridges running nearly parallel to the first one, with long narrow valleys between them. These ridges are 3000 and 4000 feet high, while the valleys have

1; Drew G-3 (1862-1872) 1875 AV1 Kashmir AV1

563 101 The Tibetan races, whom we now reach, have the characteristics of the Turanian family (of which the Chinese and the Japanese are the instances most known to Englishmen) in varying degree. The Chāmpās have those features most markedly, next the Ladākhī, and in a less degree the Baltī. The two first of these subdivisions are Buddhist in religion, the last Muhammadan. Of these Tibetan races are the people who live in the loftiest of the inhabited regions; the Chāmpās, who are nomads, wander among the high-level valleys of Rupshu; the Ladākhīs, who are a settled and cultivating race, are in villages which in height above the sea vary from 13,500 to 9500 feet; the next, the Baltis, are found at from 10,000 or 11,000 down to 6000 feet.

As for the languages spoken, a separate chapter treats of them, and some facts of their distribution are given in the explanation of the Language Map.* 1/2

557 643 Countries separated by so many mountain chains; races so widely different; how did they all come to be under one ruler?

The answer to this almost resolves itself into the history of one man, of the one who by exercising with wonderful persistence the qualities of a soldier and a diplomatist succeeded in raising himself from an inconspicuous station to a position in which his adherence and goodwill became of extreme value to the British Government in India, who, in their turn, enabled him to achieve an object that for long had been dear to his heart, and in giving over to him Kashmir completed the agglomeration of all the countries we are treating of into one state. This man was Maharaja Gulāb Singh, the father of the present ruler.

175 642 I shall attempt a brief sketch of the course of the events which led to the result above pointed out.

631 From time immemorial—the natives say for 5000 years—Jummoo has been the seat of the rule of a Hindū dynasty, of a family of Rājpūts, whose influence spread for some distance over the lower hills, the extent of that influence varying, no doubt, at different times. There was little intercourse with the outer world;

* See Chap. XXI., on Languages, and Chap. XXII., In Explanation of the Maps.

1/2 RF category 116 End Map IV

1; Drew G-3 (1862-1872) 1875 AV1 Kashmir AV1

some contact with it occurred indeed during the time from the sixteenth century onwards from the passage near, if not through, the country of the Mughal Emperors of Delhi towards Kashmir; or again when one of the Western invaders of India swept along at the foot of the hills, and the hill-men were able to annoy his armies while congratulating themselves on the rugged character of their own country, which made it by its poverty unattractive and by its difficulty of access even repulsive to those bent on rapid conquest and plunder. A little after the middle of the last century we find that the power of the Jummoo ruler, exercised either directly or by feudatory chiefs owing allegiance, extended eastwards to the Râvi River or nearly so, westwards to some miles beyond the Chinâb, southwards for some little way into the plains, and northwards as far as the beginning of Middle Mountains. The feudatory chiefs, those for instance of Akhnûr, Dalpatpûr, Kiramchi, &c., governed their own subjects, but to the ruler of Jummoo they paid tribute and did military service. During a portion of the year they would be present at Jummoo itself, attending the court of the ruler and holding separate ones themselves. At this day various spots in that town are remembered where each of these tributaries held his court on a minor scale. Doubtless there was some petty warfare, resulting sometimes in an extension and sometimes in a contraction of the power of the central ruler; but usually the chiefs were more occupied in sport than in serious fighting, and the various families continued in nearly the same relative positions for great lengths of time.

The rest of the Outer Hills and some of the Middle Mountain tract were thus occupied:—Eastward of Jummoo there were independent rulers at Basoli and Kishtwâr, of Râjpût caste, some few details of whose history will be given as we come in our geographical survey to each of those places. North-westward of Jummoo were the two small states of Bhimbar and Râjâori, whose rulers were Muhammadans, Muhammadanised descendants of Râjpût Rajas, still bearing the Hindû title of Raja and still recognized as belonging to certain subdivisions of the Râjpût caste. These two had, I think, become more closely connected

1; Drew G-3 (1862-1872) 1875 AV1 Kashmir AV.

175 642 631 with, more completely dependent on, the Delhi power, before its breaking up, than had the Jummoo Raja, because the highway along which the Delhi Emperors used to march from India to Kashmir led straight through their territories and past their very castles. But after the decline of the power of Delhi and the occupation of Kashmir by the Pathāns or Afghāns (who were connected with Kābul and not with India) these rulers of Bhimbar and Rājaori became again as free and independent as the one of Jummoo. Farther west, up to the Jhelam River, the ground seems to have been occupied politically by local chiefs, ruling each over but a few villages. These, all Muhammadans, ruled over Muhammadan subjects. Still in many cases the Hindū origin of both can be traced. The importance of these was nearly the same as that of the lesser chiefs of the Jummoo side; but they seem to have kept more separate, and not to have agglomerated, not to have come under any one ruler as feudatories, but to have kept independent; so that almost village by village the country was governed by separate Rajas, and to this day many headmen of villages in that western tract bear the title of "Raja."

We have thus accounted for most of the country up to the first great mountain range. Of Kashmir and Ladākh we will speak later; but now we must come back to Jummoo, on which place hinged the coming fortunes of all these regions.

At Jummoo, in the middle of the eighteenth century, ruled Raja Ranjit Dev, a man whose qualities as a ruler are there spoken of with the highest respect. He has a reputation for having been a wise administrator and a just judge. He was a tolerant man; he encouraged Muhammadans as well as the people of his own faith; under him many were attracted to Jummoo, and the town spread and flourished. Up to this time the state of independence of the mountaineers had continued. But his epoch was both the culmination and the beginning of the end of the old state of things. With his death, which occurred about 1770 or 1780 A.D., began changes from outside influences, which only ended when, in the year 1846, the ruler of Jummoo became tributary to the East India Company.

1; Drew G-3 (1862-1872) 1875 AV1 Kashmir AV1

175
642
631

At the time of Ranjīt Dev the Sikhs had become rulers—not, indeed, in any organized form, but in separate clanships—of that portion of the Panjāb which adjoined the Jummoo territory on the south. The ardour of fighting was so strong in these Sikhs that all their neighbours were likely, in turn or as occasion might lead, to feel its effects. In the case of Jummoo the occasion arose soon after the death of Ranjīt Dev.* The disputes for succession which have been so common in Oriental dynasties, and not least common when the question is of succession to a firm and able ruler, here also sprung up. George Forster (who, probably, was the first Englishman who ever set foot in Jummoo) tells us that of three sons of Ranjīt Dev, one killed the intended successor and imprisoned the third, but that this one, escaping, made his way to the Sikhs, who took up the quarrel for an excuse for invading and laying waste the country. Mān Singh,† the head of one of the Sikh clans (whose son, Ranjīt Singh, afterwards combined all the clans, and from them made a monarchy that lasted for a generation), plundered Jummoo, and from this time the old hill principality became dependent on the new sect that dominated the Panjab. These Sikhs, about the same period, but under, I think, different leaders, from different clans being concerned, penetrated into other portions of the Outer Hill region. For instance, Basoli was occupied by them some time before 1783, and, probably later, Rāmnagar also fell to them. In most cases some scion of the old reigning families was kept in as tributary ruler, for it would have been difficult for the Sikhs themselves, unused as they were to rugged ground, to govern directly the scattered inhabitants of such a rough hilly country. This arrangement again naturally brought about or gave opportunities for disturbances and revolts, which continually occurred. The unsettled state of the hills was a source of disquiet to Ranjīt Singh, when, having got possession of Lāhor, he had become chief ruler of the Sikhs. In tracing

* I am not certain whether or no in Ranjīt Dev's own time influence had been exerted by the Sikhs so as to bring Jummoo in any way tributary to them. At all events, it was not till after his death that active interference on their part occurred.

† This name is erroneously given in some English books as Maha Singh.

1; Drew G-S (1862-1872) 1875 AVI Kashmir AVI

175 642 631 out Ranjit Singh's efforts for the settlement of the hill districts, we come in contact with the family who exerted for so many years an important influence in the Lâhor state—an influence which much affected the English in their dealings with it—and between whom and the English Government the relations that were entered on constitute the foundation of the present political constitution of the territories we speak of.

557 175 642 631 159 J. D. Cunningham, in his 'History of the Sikhs,'* shows that from a brother of Ranjit Dev, Raja of Jummoo, were descended, in the third generation, three brothers, Gulâb Singh, Dhiyân Singh, and Suchet Singh. These three were young men at the time when Ranjit Singh's rise to chief power at Lâhor made that the most likely place for the advancement of those whose only trade was fighting. The two elder brothers, Gulâb Singh and Dhiyân Singh, came to Ranjit Singh's court with the object of pushing their way as soldiers of fortune. Gulâb Singh first became a *sawâr*, or trooper, under Jemadâr Khushiâl Singh, a trusted servant of Ranjit Singh's. I do not know what was Dhiyân Singh's first step; but it was not long before he attracted the attention of the ruler, for he was a young man of considerable gifts of person as well as mental talents. He obtained the special favour of Ranjit Singh, and before long was advanced to the important post of deodhiwâlâ or deurhiwâlâ, that is to say, chief door-keeper. In a native court, a place of personal government, the door-keeper, possessing as he does the power of giving or restraining access to the chief, has considerable influence; this influence Dhiyân Singh now exerted in "making a party," so as by this means, as well as by his own exertions with the Maharaja Ranjit Singh, to advance his family. The personal qualifications of the brothers at the same time helped, and it was not long before the fortunes of all three—for Suchet Singh had joined his elder brothers—became well founded.

[661]

Gulâb Singh rose to the independent command of a troop, and in one of the hill wars he distinguished himself by taking

* I have repeated in Appendix VI. the genealogy given by Cunningham.

I: Drew G-3 (1862-1872) 1875 AV1 Kashmir AV1

prisoner Āgā Jān, the Raja of Rājāorī, who was then resisting the Sikh forces. For this service, and with the object of utilizing those of the families of hill rajas who were attached to his government in keeping in subjection the tribes that had been giving trouble, Ranjīt Singh conferred on Gulāb Singh the rajaship of Jummoo, to be held as a fief. This was about the year 1820. On the brothers Dhiyān Singh and Suchet Singh was also bestowed the title of Raja, and they received, whether at this time or later I know not, a portion of territory to be held on the same terms as was Jummoo by Gulāb Singh. Dhiyān Singh received Pūnch as his principality, and Suchet Singh Rāmnagar.

557 175 642 631 159

It is with Raja Gulāb Singh that we are now chiefly concerned. While Dhiyān Singh remained at Ranjīt Singh's court performing an important part in protecting the interests of the family by securing his own influence with the ruler, to whom they were all tributary, and on whom indeed they were still thoroughly dependent, Gulāb Singh spent most of his time at Jummoo and in its neighbourhood, occupied first in consolidating and then in extending his power, though, as occasion required, he would, as was his bounden duty, join the Sikh army with his forces, and take part in their military operations.

Gulāb Singh's own immediate subjects had, by the continuance of disturbances, the absence of settled rule, become somewhat lawless; robbery and murder were common; it is said that at that time a cap or a pagrī that a traveller might wear was enough for a temptation to plunder and violence. With a firm hand Gulāb Singh put this down, and brought his country to such a state of quiet and security as makes it at this moment in that respect a pattern. As to the feudal chiefs around him, he in some cases—for what particular causes or with what excuses it is difficult at this time to trace—confiscated their fiefs and became direct ruler; in other cases he retained and attached to his government the nobles, while gradually lessening their political importance. The tendency of his government was always towards centralization. He was a man of stronger character than most of

642 175 631 159 [578]

1: Drew G-3 (1862-1872) 1875 AV1 Kashmir AV

159 175 642 631

the rulers that had preceded him, and probably his experience in the wider area of the Panjāb had taught him both the advantages and the feasibility of relatively diminishing the power of feudal subordinates.

159 643 175

Gulāb Singh in later years came in contact with many Englishmen, and several of these have written their impressions of his character. I myself never saw him; he died before I came to Jummoo; but his doings and sayings were still much thought of there, and I endeavoured to form, from what I heard, an estimate of his character.

Of his powers as a soldier I was unable to form a clear judgment. He seems to have been thoroughly brave, but always careful and prudent. Though no great feats of arms are recorded of him,* yet he was generally successful. He was more ready to intrigue than to employ force; but when the necessity for fighting was clear, he proved almost as much at home in it as he was in diplomacy. A great part of his success was due to the wisdom he displayed in recognizing the times when each could with most advantage be brought into play.

As an administrator he was better than most of those of his own time and neighbourhood, but yet the results of his rule do not give one the highest impression of his powers in this respect. He knew how to govern a country in the sense of making his authority respected all through it. For the carrying out of the further objects of good government he probably cared little; his experience had shown him no instance of their attainment, and possibly he had not in his mind the idea of a government different in kind from that which he succeeded in administering; for of all the governments within reach of his observation those were good in which the authority of the ruler was assured by force and the revenue came in punctually. On this principle he consolidated his power.

One of his chief faults was an unscrupulousness as to the means

* The defence of the Lāhor fort with a small force against the Sikh army, in the time of the dissensions, is, however, a brilliant deed of his that now comes to my mind.

[... the RAJAH OF Jammu - ANALYST]

1; Drew G-3 (1862-1872) 1875 AV1 Kashmir AV1

159 643 175 his. To fortify my conclusions I will now quote from the 'History of the Sikhs,' by J. D. Cunningham, an author who wrote with rare impartiality, one who was able to divest himself of the prejudices of his own nation in estimating the qualities and the deeds of their enemies. Writing at the crisis of our relations with the Panjāb State, a time when Gulāb Singh's name was in everyone's mouth, he says,* "In the course of this history there has more than once been occasion to allude to the unscrupulous character of Raja Golab Singh; but it must not therefore be supposed that he is a man malevolently evil. He will, indeed, deceive an enemy and take his life without hesitation, and in the accumulation of money he will exercise many oppressions; but he must be judged with reference to the morality of his age and race and to the necessities of his position. If these allowances be made, Golab Singh will be found an able and moderate man, who does little in an idle or wanton spirit, and who is not without some traits both of good humour and generosity of temper."

175 642 ●631 Having thus seen Gulāb Singh firmly fixed at Jummoo, we must, before tracing the acquisition by him of further territory, look to the early state of the other countries that now form part of the dominions under the government of Jummoo, beginning with Kashmir.

The Hindū history of Kashmir, which was brought into notice by Professor H. H. Wilson, tells of a succession of kings who ruled in the valley, and tells something of their relations with their neighbours. We cannot enter into these records, but of some of the events that have occurred in the last five centuries we will note the succession, since each change within that period has left its mark on the country recognizable by all at this day.

In the beginning of the fourteenth century after Christ the last Hindū king of Kashmir lost his throne. One Shāh Mīr, his minister, a Muhammadan, displaced him and ruled under the name of Shams-ud-dīn. For about two centuries and a half Kashmir remained independent, governed by its own Muhammadan rulers. Of these there were two most noted, whose names

* Cunningham's 'History of the Sikhs,' p. 332, note.

1: Drew G-3 (1862-1872) 1875 AV1 Kashmir AV1

175
642
631

are still in the people's mouths; one was Sikandar, surnamed Butshikan or Iconoclast, who came to the throne in 1396 A.D., and used his power to destroy the ancient Hindū temples; the other was Zain-ul-āb-ud-Dīn, also called Bar* Shāh, who distinguished himself by erecting buildings of beauty and utility in the city of Sirīnagar and in other parts of the country.

The next great change was the invasion of Kashmir by the Emperor Akbar. After some repulses and difficulties that potentate conquered the country. This was in the year 1588; from that time to now the Kashmīris have been ruled by aliens; since then three times at least have their masters been changed, but in no instance have they had any voice or influence in brinigng about the change. The Mughal rule (as the natives of India call that which was exercised by the Emperors who had their seat at Agra or at Delhi) lasted in Kashmir for something more than a century and a half. That country was governed by viceroys of the Emperors, who were called by the title Sūbadār, or, later, simply Sūba. It was also frequently visited by the Emperors themselves in the hot weather, and it was these journeys of the court that brought the name of Kashmir to the ears of the Westerns; it was this period when its fame in Europe arose; for the successive Emperors—Akbar, Jahāngīr, Shāhjahān, and Aurangzeb—both constructed palaces and gardens whose position in the midst of lovely scenery and delicious air gave them a reputation beyond what their architecture alone could merit, and also filled these with a Court whose magnificence, drawn from the resources of half India, had never before and has never since been equalled in that mountain kingdom.

After the death of Aurangzeb the weak state of the Delhi power was reflected in the disturbed condition of Kashmir, which was ruled over by governors and governors' deputies appointed by those who one after the other gained the upper hand at Delhi.

The Kashmīris got fresh masters about the years 1752–1754, when Ahmad Shāh Abdālī, the invader of India, conquered Kashmir through one of his lieutenants. From that time for nearly

* In this name the r is cerebral.

1: Drew G-3 (1862-1872) 1875 AV1 Kashmir AV1

seventy years Kashmir was subject to the Pathāns or Afghāns, being ruled over by governors sent by the King of Kābul. The rule of these Pathāns was the harshest of all.

Again, as a new power arose in its neighbourhood, Kashmir received new masters. The Sikhs, as they grew in importance, and as their power waxed by reason of the political unity which Ranjīt Singh gave to the nation, became able to cope with the Pathāns and to vie with them for the possession of the prize country. Though Ranjīt Singh failed in an attempt on the valley in 1814, yet in 1819 he succeeded in wresting it from the Pathān rulers, and the small minority of the Kashmīrī nation who had remained Hindū saw at last, after an interval of 500 years, governors of their own faith. For the next five-and-twenty years Kashmir was ruled, quietly if oppressively, by successive governors sent by the Sikh Government at Lāhor. At the end of that time its history will join with the other threads of our narrative.*

We must now return to the proceedings of Raja Gulāb Singh, whom we left, soon after 1820, well settled at Jummoo.

The details of the extension of his power in the Outer Hills it

* As we draw near to our own times it may be useful to give more details of names and dates. I give here a Table of the Governors of Kashmir under the Sikhs; this will be useful to the traveller, for one is always hearing in that country that such-and-such a thing happened when so-and-so was Governor, and this Table will fix the date.

SIKH GOVERNORS OF KASHMIR.	A.D.
Conquest by the Sikhs	1819
Mōti Rām	1819
Hari Singh	1820
Mōti Rām (second time)	1822
Gurmukh Singh, with Chūna Lāl as *Peshkār* or Factotum	1823
Kirpā Rām, son of Mōti Rām	1825
Bamma Singh	1830
Sher Singh (son, reputed, of Ranjīt Singh)	1831
Jemādār Khushiāl Singh (in some degree under Sher Singh)	1832
Colonel Mīān Singh	1833
Shekh Ghulam Mahai-ud-dīn	1842
Shekh Imām-ud-dīn (son of Ghulām Mahai-ud-dīn)	1845

In 1846 the country fell into the hands of Raja Gulāb Singh, as will be related farther on.

I may here acknowledge the sources from which these and the other dates in Kashmir history are derived, namely, Wilson and Newall, in the publications of the Asiatic Society of Bengal, and Prinsep's Useful Tables.

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is not necessary to enter into. Roughly speaking, in the next ten or fifteen years all the Outer Hill region and a considerable portion of the Middle Mountains became, with the exception of Rājāori, completely subject to either Gulāb Singh or his brothers; and the interests of these three were at that time one. His next ambitious attempt was on the country of Ladākh, which he had been led to think much of by his occupancy of Kishtwār, which commanded two of the roads into Ladākh.

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The invasion of Ladākh Gulāb Singh did not in person lead; probably it was impossible for him to go to parts so distant from the Panjāb, where his presence was required more or less every year. His lieutenant for the expedition was Zurāwar Singh, of the caste of Rājpūts called Kaluriā, a man who had risen from the ranks in Gulāb Singh's service, and was distinguished by a zeal for his master's interest above his own, and who now proved that he had many of the qualities necessary to make a successful military leader.

Ladākh, the physical characters of which have already been lightly touched on, was at that time an independent Buddhist kingdom, having a spiritual and a slight political connection with the Grand Lāmā of Lhāsa. It was much isolated by its position at the back of the great Snowy Range; only a limited number of merchants who traded to it knew anything of the truth about it. Still the Dogrā leaders determined to attempt its conquest. The history of their invasion is well told by an actor in it in Cunningham's book on Ladākh. Here it is enough to say that after two campaigns the whole country of Ladākh became subject to Gulāb Singh.

The neighbouring Muhammadan principality of Skārdū shared the same fate a few years later. Ahmad Shāh, the Raja of that place, had mixed himself up with the Ladākhīs in their struggles and intrigues against the Dogrās, so on the first opportunity Zurāwar Singh turned his forces against him, and in the year 1840 took him prisoner and annexed his territory.*

* Though it is off the line of this narrative, yet it may be of some interest to mention that the courageous Zurāwar Singh, in invading the Lhāsa territories, was overtaken by winter, and, being attacked when his troops were disabled by cold, perished with nearly all his army. This was in November, 1841.

1; Drew G-3 (1862-1872) 1875 AV1 Kashmir AV1

175 642 631 In the year 1843 the death of Raja Suchet Singh without issue caused the principality of Rāmnagar to fall to his eldest brother Gulāb Singh; so by this time that fortunate ruler had acquired all the territories included in the present boundary, with the exceptions of Kashmir, Gilgit, Rājāorī, and Pūnch, this last being occupied by Raja Jawāhir Singh, the son of Raja Dhiyān Singh, who, like Suchet Singh, had lately been killed near Lāhor.

175 642 631 648 557 The next event that changed the boundary was the breaking out of the war between the Sikhs and the British in the winter of 1845-6. Gulāb Singh had for some time kept aloof from Lāhor politics and was not involved in the court intrigues that led to the movement of the Sikh troops against British territory; neither did he hurry down with his troops to help the Sikhs as he would have done in the time of his old master Ranjīt Singh. He kept away until the decisive battle of Sobraon was fought, at which victory declared for the British. Then he appeared almost as mediator between the two contending powers, for after the various revolutions and massacres that had lately occurred at Lāhor, and the late defeats of the Sikh army, there seemed to be none but Gulāb Singh who could shape events, who could guide the Sikh nation to any sensible course. The confidence of the British too he had before acquired; especially had Sir Henry (then Colonel) Lawrence, who was now one of the diplomatic officers employed in the negotiations, formed both a friendship for Gulāb Singh and a high opinion of his sagacity and of his usefulness to those who could enlist his interests.

The result of all this is embodied in two treaties, which will be found, in whole or in part, in Appendix V.

By the first, which was made between the British Government as represented by Lord Hardinge, and the state of Lāhor, there was ceded to the East India Company in perpetual sovereignty, as equivalent for one crore of rupees (or 1,000,000*l.*) of indemnity, the hill countries between the rivers Byās and Indus. Thus all the countries we have been treating of, both those at that time in the hands of Raja Gulāb Singh, and Kashmir and others then directly ruled by the Sikhs, were on the 9th March, 1846, handed over to the British.

1: Drew G-3 (1862-1872) 1875 AV1 Kashmir AV1

But now comes the second treaty, dated 16th March, 1846. This was made between the British Government, represented by the Governor-General as before, and Maharaja Gulāb Singh, the higher title of Maharaja being by this very mention conferred. Its effect is this, that "the British Government transfers and makes over for ever, in independent possession, to Maharaja Golab Singh and the heirs male of his body, all the hilly or mountainous country, situated to the eastward of the river Indus and westward of the river Ravee,"* in consideration of which, by another article of the treaty, Maharaja Gulāb Singh agrees to pay to the British Government the sum of 75 lakhs of rupees—about 750,000*l.*

The result of this treaty (of which the other provisions can be learnt from the Appendix) was to place Gulāb Singh in a far better position than he had ever had before. He exchanged for the Sikhs, whose attitude to him was ever varying according to the favour in which he might be held by those who for the time were leaders of them, a nation whose boast it is that they hold treaties sacred, and who had now contracted with him a treaty, the provisions of which fairly carried out could not fail to be agreeable to him. Lastly he gained, in addition to his former acquisitions, the coveted country of Kashmir.

The handing over of Kashmir was not effected without some trouble. Maharaja Gulāb Singh sent a trusted officer with some troops to take over charge; he, however, was opposed by Shekh Imām-ud-dīn, the Sikh governor, who was supported in, or rather incited to, this course by a faction in the Lāhor Darbār who were adverse to the British. Gulāb Singh's troops were defeated at the outskirts of Sirīnagar and many were slain; a remnant, however, threw themselves into the fort called Hari Parbat and there held out. On this Gulāb Singh appealed to the British to carry out the provisions of the treaty, and action was at once taken. A force partly of British and partly of Sikh troops was put in motion, and they had even made one march within the hills from Bhimbar, when events turned in such a way that their advance was no longer necessary.

* For some remarks as to the effect of these words see Chap. XIX.

1: Drew G-3 (1862-1872) 1875 AV1 Kashmir AV1

the territories, nor much altered their boundaries. On the outbreak of the mutiny of 1857, Maharaja Gulāb Singh chose his side and threw in his lot with the British, moving down a force to aid in the siege of Delhi. Hardly had he done this when death overtook him. His surviving son, the present Maharaja, Ranbīr Singh, who was then on his way to the Panjāb with the troops, returned to take his place in the government of the country, while another commander proceeded to Delhi with the force.

Since that time all has been quiet, except on the north-west frontier, which has been the scene of oft-recurring small wars, some of which are recounted in Chapter XIX., on Dārdistān History. One other treaty has been made between the British Government and the Maharaja, which is given in full in Appendix V. This was done in 1870. It is a commercial treaty designed to open a particular route between the British hill-districts and the Yārkand country through a portion of the Maharaja's territory, which is necessarily traversed.

The countries thus acquired, and, by the political events of 1846, solidly compacted, are divided up for the purposes of government into regions whose limits correspond in some measure, but not altogether, to the old boundaries. In the "Political Map" I have indicated these administrative subdivisions, and in the explanation of it in Chapter XXII. I have shortly described the kind of authority established in each.

I should hardly complete this Introduction without saying a word as to myself—as to how it was that I came to travel over this country, to penetrate into corners of it that, if they have each been visited by different Europeans, have never so many been seen by anyone of that race, or even, I believe, by any native of any of those countries.

In 1862 I entered the Maharaja of Kashmir's service, leaving for it the Geological Survey of Great Britain, to which I then belonged, and came to his Court at Jummoo. My duties for some years were confined to geological investigation, or, more exactly, to looking for minerals. This pursuit naturally led me over many of the

La Drew G-3 (1862-1872) 1875 AV1 Kashmir AV1

being the one held by the rulers of India. I have met people, Muhammadans, descended from the *farāsh*, or carpet-layers of the Raja, who were converted with him.

After this first Muhammadan Raja (whose change of religion determined the faith of all succeeding Rajas) came Raja *Anūk Singh*, who received from the King of Delhi the style of Raja *Sa'adatmand Khān*. Then came Raja *Mihr Singh*, who received from the same source the title of Raja *Sa'idmand Khān*. Next came Raja *Sujhān Singh*; then Raja *'Ināyat Ulla Singh*; lastly, Raja *Muhammad Teg Singh*, also called *Saif Ulla Khān*. It is curious to see how the Rajas kept to their old title of *Singh*, in spite of having received from the emperors the Muhammadan one of *Khān*.

Raja Teg Singh was the last independent Kishtwārī ruler. Down to his time the descendants of the two Wazirs sent from Delhi were serving the family (they, by-the-bye, had not become Muhammadans); but Raja Teg Singh made his chief adviser, and gave the title of Wazīr to, one Lakpat, a Thakar, who till then had been a small landholder. This man came to have a quarrel with his master, and I have heard something about the Raja drawing on him and wounding him. At all events, Wazīr Lakpat fled from Kishtwār and came to Raja Gulāb Singh, at Jummoo, and put him up to annexing Kishtwār, showing how easily it could be done. Gulāb Singh brought a force to Doda, and there was met by the Raja, who, without fighting, gave himself up. He went to Lāhor, to Ranjīt Singh's Court. Teg Singh had two sons, Jemal Singh and Zurāwar Singh. Cunningham says that the representative of the family (whether one of these two or a further descendant I do not know) was converted to Christianity by an American missionary at Ludhiāna.

Kishtwār has ever since belonged to Jummoo. Wazīr Lakpat held high office under Raja Gulāb Singh, and did him good service: he was killed at Munshi Bagh, close to Sirinagar, in the fight between Gulāb Singh's troops and Shekh Imām-ud-din's, in the year 1846. His son was Wazīr Zurāwrū, who was a confidential minister of the Maharaja's when I came to Jummoo;

of the change may therefore have been about 1650 A.D. Chatar Singh first conquered Péngi; from there he advanced with some 200 men to Pádar, and, annexing it, founded the fort and town named after him Chatargarh, whose ruins or traces are still to be seen opposite to Atholi.

The place flourished well; forty years ago it had 140 houses —a large collection for this thinly-peopled country—nearly all enclosed within the four walls of the square fort. Water was brought to it from a ravine at some distance, being led across the plain in a wooden trough raised on a stone bank. I am told that on the founding of this town most of the followers of Chatar Singh settled there and formed the mass of the male population. Those who settled, whatever their caste—Brahman, Rájpút, or what—intermarried with the inhabitants and became practically Thakurs. One of my informants told me that he himself was descended from a Brahman who was of that immigration, but now he could call himself nothing but a Thakur.

From Chatar Singh's time onwards Pádar remained comfortably under the Rajas of Chamba for five or six generations.

A late episode of that time I was told of by the Pádar people, and incline in the main to believe, though I have not verified the story. They say that about the year 1820 or 1825 A.D., they made up an expedition against Zánskár, and brought that country (which was held by a Bhot Raja, under Ladákh) to be so far tributary that every year 1000 rupees, besides musk-bags and other things, were sent by the ruler of Zánskár as nazar to the Chamba Raja. A strange feature of this business was that it was carried through by one Ratanú, a Thakur, a small landowner of Pádar, and not by orders from Chamba.

The event that led to the next change in Pádar was the invasion of Ladákh by the Jummoo troops under Zorawar Singh Kaltúrá,* a leader in the service of Maharaja Gulab Singh, in 1834. Of this invasion an interesting account is given by Cunningham from an actor in it. At the end of the first year of the war in

* Kaltúrá is the name of the tribe of Rájpúts (located near Simla), to which this bold leader belonged.

1; Drew G-8 (1862-1872) 1875 AVI Kashmir AVI

175 642 631 Ladákh, Zorawar Singh sent Wazír Lakpat (whose early career we have traced from Kishtwár) from Zánskár to Pádar, in order to open a new road from Jummoo to Ladákh.

Cunningham's account says there was some little fighting. Lakpat passed on, leaving only a thánadár and a few men in Pádar, having done no harm to the place. After Lakpat had left, the enterprising Ratanú above mentioned stirred up the people, who seized the Dográs and sent them prisoners to Chamba.

The Raja of Chamba disavowed the act to Gulab Singh, and, releasing the prisoners, sent them to Jummoo. But this did not avert the consequences. On the opening of the season Zorawar Singh himself came with a force (Cunningham's informant says 3000 men), but he was unable to get at Chatargarh, for the bridges across the Chinab had been destroyed. He was thus kept at bay for two months; during this time he had established a battery on the edge of the plateau, on the left bank, where it overlooks Chatargarh.

At last, with the help of some peasants, the Dográs got a rope across a few miles lower down, and crossing over by means of this, they came up the right bank of the Chinab; then, getting across the Bhutná River by a bridge that had not been destroyed, they advanced on Chatargarh, took it by storm, and set fire to and completely destroyed the town, so that nothing but heaps of stones were left. Zorawar Singh hanged several people, and mutilated several. By these measures and by the building of the present fort, the Jummoo rule became firmly established in Pádar, which has remained quiet ever since; it is now under the Tahsildár of Bhadarwáh.

175 I must not omit to tell of the end of Ratanú, the patriot. He was sent prisoner to Jummoo, and there kept in confinement for three or four years; then he was released, and received for his maintenance a small jágír, or land-grant, in the Kishtwár country, which his sons still hold. Once after this he offended Gulab Singh. On the death of the Raja of Chamba of that time he shaved his beard; it is the custom, as we have seen at Jummoo, for Hindús to do this on the loss of their sovereign, and,

4 [i.e. police officer in charge of a station-house]

1: Drew G-8 (1862-1872) 1875 AVI Kashmir AVI

In the march from Syālsūī onwards we crossed the boundary of Hindūs and Muhammadans, leaving the former and entering the country occupied by the latter. The Hindūs about Dharmsāla and Syālsūī were in great part Thakars; that caste has evidently been of chief importance here, and has not been so much overshadowed by Mīāns as it has farther east. The Thakars' houses, usually high up on the tops of the hills, are solidly built of stone, and have something of the character of forts; they even bear the name "kot," an old word for fort.

At last we get clear of these hills, and come into the valley of the Western or Mināwar Tavī, which is at this time a stream of moderate volume flowing over ridges of rock, often making deep pools between them which are very favourable to the fisherman.

A strange way of slaughtering the fish is sometimes practised here by the natives. An earthen vessel is filled with the milky juice of the plant (*Euphorbia*), which bears the name of *tor*, and, attached to a long pole, is moved about in the pool; the juice getting mixed with the water blinds the fish, and while they swim here and there, not knowing which way to go, they can easily be speared.

Continuing up the valley by the left bank of the river, between low spurs of the hills, in a few miles we come opposite to the town of Rājkort. This place has been spoken of in Chapter v. The old royal garden there described, opposite the town, has become the halting-place for travellers, chiefly for the English. We have here come into the Bhimbar route to Sirinagar frequented by them, and from this place onwards our own road coincides with it.

The town of Rājkort shows a front to the river of large stone buildings, some of them ruinous. There is a mosque of the time of the Emperors, now used for a wood store: the rest-houses of the same period have been mentioned before. Then, besides these regal works, are buildings of different sorts raised by the former Muhammadan Rajas of Rājkort.* It must be remembered that

* Probably these regions are the only part of India where Muhammadan rulers have borne the title of Raja.

1; Drew G-3 (1862-1872) 1875 AV1 Kashmir AV1

the Delhi Emperors, though having their road to Kashmir through this part, still left the country in the hands of the native Rajas, who were bound to do all they could to facilitate the royal journeys and the transmission of the loads of fruit from Kashmir to the Delhi Court. The Bhimbar Raja held his country on the same terms.

The Rajas of Rājāorī were Muhammadanised Rājpūts. The early ones were of the tribe of Rājpūts called *Pāl*, that caste to which belonged the Hindū Rajas of Balāwar and other places on the east of Jummoo. The Muhammadan Pāl of Rājāorī were succeeded by Rajas (also Muhammadans) who belonged to the *Jarāl* tribe of Rājpūts; this was seven or eight generations back; these rulers also have passed away, but there are in the neighbourhood both Hindūs and Muhammadans of those two castes.

The Rājāorī rule extended north and south 20 or 25 miles, and about 30 miles from east to west; its northern boundary was the Ratan Ridge; to the south the country of the Bhimbar Raja bounded it. The revenue I am told was only 16,000 rupees; but for all that the money-income of the country was so small the Rajas have left some marks of their rule; there is what was once a large fine house, their residence, in the town of Rājāorī; of part of this the roof is fallen, but the river front is preserved and is used for offices. Near it is the mosque they worshipped in; this also is gone from its first use, and is now made use of as an occasional resting-place for European travellers, when, from the swelling of the river, they cannot get across to the bāradarī in the garden on the left bank. Higher up is the Rajas' burial-place; here one tomb was pointed out to me as Raja Āgā Jān's. Āgā Jān was ruler when the Sikhs took the country; they imprisoned him and put his younger brother on the throne, who sat on it till he was obliged to hand it over to Maharaja Gulāb Singh. When, as explained in Chapter I., all of these territories that had not before been acquired by Gulāb Singh were transferred to him by the Treaty of 1846, there came an end to the Rājāorī rule; the Raja ultimately submitted without resistance, and was pensioned. He is now dead, but his son still receives

1: Drew G-3 (1862-1872) 1875 · AV1 Kashmir AV1

175 something through the British Government, which he enjoys at
● 631 Wazīrābād.

177 Rājāorī has one conspicuous building raised by its last, the
361 present, rulers. A large temple, elevated on a rock by the river,
[346] shows to all that Hindū power has again spread thus far west. As another sign of this, the Dogrās have changed the name of the place to *Rāmpūr*, thus designating it after one of their gods; this new name has displaced the old in official dealings, but not in the mouths of the commonalty.

RAJAORI TO SIRINAGAR: EIGHT MARCHES.

133* We have hitherto in our journey been among the Outer, the
487 Lower, Hills; in these next marches we shall get over the higher ranges of mountains, those that are the great barriers of Kashmir. The first two days' march from Rājāorī will take us northward over the Ratan Ridge by a pass that is called the Ratan Pīr; the next four will lead us eastward through the main Panjāl Range (of which the other was a branch) by the pass called the Pīr Panjāl, and will bring us down to the level and out into the wide opening of the vale of Kashmir; the last two are wholly within that valley.

The following is a list of the eight marches, still numbering from Jummoo:

	Miles.		Miles.
7. Rājāorī to Thanna	14	11. Allābād to Hirpūr	14
8. Thanna to Baramgalla ..	10	12. Hirpūr to Shapeyan	6
9. Baramgalla to Poshiāna ..	10	13. Shapeyan to Kahnpūr ..	15
10. Poshiāna to Allābād Sarā ..	11	14. Kahnpūr to Sirīnagar ..	12

[311] In the first march, from Rājāorī to Thanna, we keep for 14 miles in the same not wide valley, following up this western Tavī stream, rising by a gradual incline. The ground of the valley is all terraced and made into rice-fields, which at this time are flooded with water led from the stream in preparation for the sowing, which will be done a week or two later. The valley is closely bounded by spurs of hills, which change their look as we near the end of the march, for we then get among a higher class

1: Drew G-3 (1862-1872) 1875 AV1 Kashmir AV1

563
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drawing a line to separate the tract where the majority of the inhabitants are Hindūs from that where the majority are Muhammadans. On the other hand, in every town in the Muhammadan country, Hindūs are settled, chiefly as traders; and again, in Kashmir, a proportion of the inhabitants retain their old Hindū faith; these are the Kashmīrī Brahmins; but neither of these classes has one been able to distinguish on the map on account of their being geographically so mixed up with the Muhammadans. In Appendix VII. will be found some statistics of the proportions of Hindūs, Muhammadans, &c., in the different parts of the country.

Here in these territories is the spot where the three great Asiatic faiths meet. From the neighbourhood of the Brama Peaks, *and from no other spot in Asia*, one may go westward through countries entirely Muhammadan, as far as Constantinople, eastward, among none but Buddhists, to China, and southward over lands where the Hindū religion prevails, to the extremity of the Indian peninsula.

POLITICAL MAP.

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The objects of this map are the showing, first, by what Governments the Maharaja of Kashmir's territories are surrounded, who are politically his neighbours; secondly, the subdivision of these territories themselves for administrative purposes; and, thirdly, the most practicable lines of routes that exist through them. These subjects will be briefly treated of under the headings, Surrounding States, Boundary Line, Interior Divisions, and Routes.

SURROUNDING STATES.

The Political Map then shows that on the south and the south-west the Maharaja's country is bounded by some of that portion of the British dominions which is under the Lieutenant-Governor of the Panjāb. This includes two tracts—Chamba and Khāghān—which are not ruled directly by the British, but are held by native rulers tributary to and quite dependent on them; the greater part, however, is British territory, pure and simple.

On the north-west is the tract called Yāghistān, or rebel-

* [cf. category 116 pp. 553-554 -- Analyst]

1: Drew G-8 (1862-1872) 1875 AV1 Kashmir AV1

/3/ land; this name it has acquired from the combined lawlessness
631 and independence of the people who inhabit it. This Yāghistān
● I have again divided into the space ruled over by Rajas and the space where the Government is republican. The Rajas are four—those of Chitrāl, Yāsīn, Hunza, and Nagar. Of Republics I have got the position of several, as Tangīr, Dārel, Gor, Thalīcha, and Chilās, and others exist lower down the Indus. Some little information on these States has been given in Chapter XX. At the extreme corner of our map there comes in, but it nowhere touches the Maharaja's boundary, a portion of Badakhshān, a State tributary to the Amīr of Kābul.

On the north-east and north are the dominions of the ruler who till lately was called Atālīq Ghāzī, but who now bears the title of Amīr, and is called by the English "Amīr of Kāshghar"; he is the ruler of Eastern Turkistān, whose capital at this time is Kāshghar.

On the south-east we have Chinese Tibet, which is governed by the Grand Lāmā at Lhāsa, who himself is tributary to the Emperor of China.

THE BOUNDARY LINE.

Though the above divisions are expressed by the tints in the Political Map, yet the details of the boundary between each of them and the Maharaja's territory are best shown by the line drawn on the General Map, which should be referred to as well as the other for any point connected with the absolute boundary. Although I have given this with all the accuracy possible for me, yet in different parts there are many degrees of certainty about it. Hence a detailed statement on the subject becomes necessary.

Let us commence at the most southern corner, near Mādhopūr. From that point north-westward to the river Jhelam, the boundary, with the British districts of Gurdāspūr, Syālkot, Gujrāt, and Jhelam, is defined by pillars, and has been carefully mapped. From near Duliāl on the Jhelam upwards to the falling in of the Khāghān River, the Jhelam River itself is the boundary; the right and left banks respectively belong to the British and the Maha-

1: Drew G-3 (1862-1872) 1875 AV1 Kashmir AV1

raja's Government. From the last-named point the boundary line, still fixed and undisputed, follows the ridge which divides the drainage of Khāghān from that of the Kishangangā.

After this I have put it down as following the ridge between the country of Chilās on the one hand and the higher part of the Kishangangā Valley and the Astor Valley on the other. But we have here reached a part for which there is no authoritative map to follow for the boundary; it is therefore necessary to state the principles on which I have proceeded.

In the first place I do not here consider any question—if there be one—of theoretical right to the countries in question. I am only depicting the state of occupation, the political state, of the countries as they are. Now as to Chilās; that country, as was told in Chapter XX., has once been occupied by the Maharaja's troops, who went there on a punitive expedition.[1] On their retiring, an arrangement was entered into with the Chilāsi leaders for certain tribute to be paid to, and for hostages of good conduct to be held by, the Maharaja. The conditions have been kept to for more than twenty years. But I do not consider that this is enough to constitute Chilās as even a dependency of the Maharaja. His people cannot come and go freely; for messengers he is obliged to choose men who by some reason of connection or acquaintanceship are more sure to be well treated than can be reckoned on for his nearer and more trusted officials. Thus so slight is the connection that it would not fairly represent the present political status of Chilās to bring it within the boundary. My line, down to the Indus, represents exactly where the Maharaja's direct authority ends and the ground frequented by Chilāsis begins. The same relationship exists between the Maharaja's Government and the independent village of Thalicha, which therefore I have excluded from the territories.

With the other neighbouring Yāghistān republics there is less connection still; they are necessarily put outside the boundary. The line is a natural one, following a watershed.

With Yāsin and Hunza I have carefully depicted the boundary as it actually was in 1870, and as now, in 1874, I believe it re-

[1] [Cf. category 11c pp. 398-399 -- Analyst]

1: Drew G-3 (1862-1872) 1875 AV1 Kashmir AV1

mains. In 1870 I was on the spot myself, and found the boundary as I now put it.

From Nagar for the most part, and from the upper part of the Hunza Valley, the separation is effected by a great and almost impassable ridge of mountains.

We now come to the Yārkand territory, under the rule of the Amīr of Kāshghar. As to the boundary with this, from the Mustāgh Pass to the Kārākoram Pass, there is no doubt whatever. A great watershed range divides the two territories. But it will be observed that from the Kārākoram Pass eastward to past the meridian of 80°, the line is more finely dotted. This has been done to denote that here the boundary is not defined. There has been no authoritative demarcation of it at all; and as the country is quite uninhabited for more than a hundred miles east and west and north and south I cannot apply the principle of representing the actual state of occupation. I have by the dotted boundary only represented my own opinion of what would be defined were the powers interested to attempt to agree on a boundary. At the same time this dotted line does not go against any actual facts of occupation.

These last remarks apply also to the next section, from the Kuenlun Mountains southward to the head of the Changchenmo Valley; for that distance the boundary between the Maharaja's country and Chinese Tibet is equally doubtful.

From the Pass at the head of the Changchenmo Valley southwards the boundary line is again made stronger. Here it represents actual occupation so far that it divides pasture-lands frequented in summer by the Maharaja's subjects from those occupied by the subjects of Lhāsa. It is true that with respect to the neighbourhood of Pāngkong Lake there have been boundary disputes which now may be said to be latent. There has never been any formal agreement on the subject. I myself do not pretend to decide as to the matter of right, but here again I can vouch that the boundary marked accurately represents the present state. For this part my information dates from 1871, when I was Governor of Ladākh. This applies also to all the rest of the boundary between the Maharaja's and the Chinese territories.

1: Drew G-3 (1862-1872) 1875 AV1 Kashmir AV1

Where the British district of Spiti comes on there has been a boundary dispute, which was lately decided. From the point marked "Gya Stⁿ 22309" to a little farther west than the Bāra Lācha Pass my line is different from what will be found on any published map. It expresses the result of the late negotiations on that boundary dispute, in which at one time I was concerned as Boundary Commissioner for the Maharaja; and though on one particular point this had not been settled when I left the country, I have since ascertained that the line has been marked out as is here depicted.

From near the Bāra Lācha Pass westward, and round to the corner we started from, the line, I believe, accurately represents an undisputed boundary.

INTERIOR DIVISIONS.

For the representation of the administrative division of the Maharaja's country I have adopted on the Political Map three tints or shades.

One of these marks the tracts near Jummoo, or the Home Districts as they may be called. These are seven *zila's* or Districts—Jummoo, Jasrota, Rāmnagar, Udampūr, Riāsi, Mināwar, and Naushahra—whose government has been arranged on a plan like that of the Districts in the Panjāb. Over each is a civil officer (sāhib-i-zila') corresponding to the Deputy Commissioner of the British system, with an assistant (nāib-i-zila'); these are at the head-quarters; and there are three or four Tahsildārs, each over a subdivision of the District that is called a Tahsil.

Part of this area coloured as "Home Districts" is a tract marked *Rajahip of Pūnch*, lying north of the Naushahra District. ¼ This is governed by Raja Moti Singh, first cousin to the Maharaja; it is held by him in close dependence on, and indeed obedience to, the Maharaja, who, however, interferes but little with its internal management.

The next division is Kashmir proper, which is managed by an officer of considerable rank and powers. The separation of the government of Kashmir from that of the other divisions is almost

¼ [Cf. category 116, End Map VI -- Analyst]

1; Drew G-3 (1862-1872) 1875 AV1 Kashmir AV/

631 complete; the country is treated as a separate *sūba* or province in the same way as it was when the Emperors of Delhi ruled over it, who governed it by an officer who was called *sūbadār*, or, for short, *sūba*. This is the most important separate charge under the Maharaja. Kashmir (with the Jhelam Valley from Bāramūla to Muzafarābād) is now divided into six districts, Kāmrāj, Patan, Sirīnagar, Shapeyan, Islāmābād or Ānat Nāg, and Muzafarābād, which are administered by a staff on nearly the same plan as the Home Districts, but whose officers report to the Governor of Kashmir, and not to Jummoo direct.

The third division, separately coloured, I have marked "Outlying Governorships." It includes the country of the Indus basin, with the exception of Zānskār, which is a part of Ladākh geographically but is attached to the Udampūr District. The three Governorships (the separation of which is marked by a line, though not by colour) are Gilgit, Baltistān, and Ladākh; these correspond to the "Non-regulation Provinces" of India as they were before legislation welded them into a more nearly homogeneous mass with the others; that is to say, special rules are issued for each according to its circumstances, and on account of the distance from and difficulty of communication with the Court more latitude is allowed to and more independent power is exercised by the Governors.

Routes.

487 The most frequented routes through the country are also expressed on the Political Map, where the numbers accord with those put in the list of routes in Appendix IV. The roads are described so systematically and in such detail in the Appendix that it is unnecessary to say anything about them here, except a few words as to the order in which they are put.

The first eight are routes from the lower parts to Sirīnagar. Then there are five roads which lead out from Sirīnagar respectively to Gilgit (No. 9), Skārdū (Nos. 10 and 11), Leh (No. 12), and Kishtwār (No. 13). Nos. 14 to 17 are other roads that from various parts unite at Kishtwār. Nos. 18 and 19 are two routes

[Cf. category 11b, End Map VI -- Analyst]

2: Gervis T-3 (no date) 1954 AV1 Kashmir AV1

that river bank, at Tattapani to be exact, hot sulphur springs with valuable medicinal properties are found.

According to the 1941 census, about nine-tenths of the population were of the Muslim faith. The Raja who was a Hindu, was subject to the Maharaja of Kashmir. The unwalled, oblong-shaped capital of the State is also called Poonch—in some books it is still spelt Punch, but the pronunciation is Poonch. The population is under ten thousand. The valley in which this city has been built opens up as one approaches it and is rather like a miniature Valley of Kashmir. The view is clear for miles ahead, with Poonch built on a low plateau overlooking the river which flows quietly, parallel with the hill ridges. The old fort-palace with its massive walls, seems to rise from among the hundreds of houses in the bazaar of narrow, stone-paved streets. The Raja's white-walled and red-roofed new palace is built behind them all and dominates the whole, with a background of green hills and far-distant snow peaks behind which sits Gulmarg.

The Muslim schoolboys of Poonch always remember two landmarks in the history of their city. The first is 1814, when Ranjit Singh made his attack on Kashmir through Poonch; he sought the co-operation of Ullah Khan, the then Raja of Poonch, but this ruler being a Muslim had Afghan sympathies, and gave an evasive reply to the request, pleading his inability to comply with the Maharaja's wishes since his son was then a hostage in the hands of the Duranis. Ranjit Singh's forces advanced with the Maharaja at their head; the small forces of Poonch fell back, the Raja ordering his subjects to leave the town and villages, thus cutting off supplies from the Sikhs, who however, reached Tosa Maidan in their advance. There they suffered a crushing defeat at the hands of the Afghan forces of Rajouri and Poonch. Retreating, the Sikh army burnt the fair city of Poonch to the ground.

Later, when Poonch was still an independent hill State, it was annexed by the Maharaja Gulab Singh, when he defeated the combined forces of the Afghan Governor of Kashmir and the Raja of Poonch. Then, in order to show the people of his new State that the last of the representatives of the main line of rulers would never be able to return, he had both of them

175 Afghāns, the Sikhs came as a relief to the unfortunate Kashmīris, but their rule was harsh and oppressive.

Sher Singh, the reputed son of Ranjīt Singh, was a weak governor, and his name is remembered in connexion with the terrible famine which visited the valley. The best of the Sikh governors was Colonel Miān Singh (1833), who is still spoken of with gratitude, and did his best to repair the ravages of the famine. He was murdered by mutinous soldiers, and was succeeded by Shaikh Ghulām Muhī-ud-dīn in 1842. During his government the Bambās, under Sher Ahmad, inflicted great losses on the Sikhs. In 1845 Imām-ud-dīn succeeded his father as governor.

The Dogrās. Gulāb Singh.

The history of the State, as at present constituted, is practically the history of one man, a Dogrā Rājput, Gulāb Singh of Jammu. Lying off the high roads of India, and away from the fertile plains of the Punjab, the barren hills of the Dogrās had not attracted the notice of the Mughal invaders of India. Here lived a number of small Rājās, and it appears that from very early times the little kingdom of Jammu was locally of some importance. Towards the end of the eighteenth century the power of the Jammu ruler had extended east as far as the Rāvi, and west to the Chenāb; but the power waned and waxed according to the fortunes of petty and chronic warfare. To the east at Basoli and Kishtwār were independent Rājput chiefs, while to the north-west were the Muhammadan rulers of Bhimbar and Rājaori, descendants of Hindu Rājputs. These two states lay on the Mughal route to Kashmīr, and so came under the influence of Delhi. Up the Jhelum valley, the country was held by small independent Muhammadan chiefs, whose title of Rājā suggests their Hindu origin.

Jammu.

About the middle of the eighteenth century Rājā Ranjīt Deo was the ruler of Jammu. He was a man of some mark, and his capital flourished; but at his death about 1780, his three sons quarrelled. The Sikhs were invoked, and Jammu was plundered. From Ranjīt Deo's death to 1846, the Dogrā country became tributary to the Sikh power. Gulāb Singh, Dhyān Singh, and Suchet Singh were the great-grandsons of Sūrat Singh, youngest brother of Ranjīt Deo. They were soldiers of fortune, and as young men sought service at the court of Ranjīt Singh of Lahore. They rapidly distinguished themselves; and Gulāb Singh, for his service in capturing the Rājā of Rājaori, who was fighting the Sikhs, was created Rājā of Jammu in 1820. Dhyān Singh obtained the principality of Punch, a hilly country between the Jhelum and the Pīr

3: Imperial Gazetteer G-3 (1889-95) 1909 AV1 Kashmir AV1

Panjāl range, north of Rājaori; while Suchet Singh received Rāmnagar, west by north of Jammu.

Ranjīt Singh had found that the control of the Dogrā country was a difficult task, and his policy of enlisting the services of able Dogrās was at once obvious and prudent. The country was disturbed, each man plundered his neighbour, and Gulāb Singh's energies were taxed to the utmost in restoring order. He was a man of extraordinary power, and very quickly asserted his authority. His methods were often cruel and unscrupulous, but allowances must be made. He believed in object-lessons, and his penal system was at any rate successful in ridding the country of crime. He kept a sharp eye on his officials, and a close hand on his revenues. Rapidly absorbing the power and possessions of the feudal chiefs around him, after ten years of laborious and consistent effort, he and his two brothers became masters of nearly all the country between Kashmīr and the Punjab, save Rājaori. Bhadarwāh fell easily into the hands of Gulāb Singh after a slight resistance. In Kishtwār, the minister, Wazīr Lakhpat, quarrelled with the Rājā and sought the assistance of Gulāb Singh, who at once moved up with a force, and the Rājā surrendered his country without fighting.

Conquest of Ladākh.

His easy successes in Kishtwār, which commanded two of the roads into Ladākh, probably suggested the ambitious idea of the conquest of that unknown land. The difficulties of access offered by mountains and glaciers were enormous; but the brave Dogrās under Gulāb Singh's officer, Zorāwar Singh, never hesitated, and in two campaigns the whole of Ladākh passed into the hands of the Jammu State. It is interesting to notice that the Dogrās did not pillage the rich monastery of Himis, which saved itself by allowing the army in ignorance of its locality to pass the gorge leading to the Himis valley, and by then sending a deputation with an offer of free rations while in Ladākh territory. The agreement made was respected by both parties.

A few years later, in 1840, Zorāwar Singh invaded Baltistān, captured the Rājā of Skārdu, who had sided with the Ladākhis, and annexed his country. The following year (1841) Zorāwar Singh while invading Tibet was overtaken by winter, and being attacked when his troops were disabled by cold, perished with nearly all his army. Whether it was policy or whether it was accident, by 1840 Gulāb Singh had encircled Kashmīr.

Acquisition of Kashmīr.

In the winter of 1845 war broke out between the British and the Sikhs. Gulāb Singh contrived to hold himself aloof

3: Imperial Gazetteer G-3 (1889-95) 1909 AV1 Kashmir AV1

till the battle of Sobraon (1846), when he appeared as a useful mediator and the trusted adviser of Sir Henry Lawrence. Two treaties were concluded. By the first the State of Lahore handed over to the British, as equivalent for one crore of indemnity, the hill countries between the rivers Beās and the Indus; by the second the British made over to Gulāb Singh for 75 lakhs all the hilly or mountainous country situated to the east of the Indus and west of the Rāvi. Kashmīr did not, however, come into the Mahārājā's hands without fighting. Imām-ud-dīn, the Sikh governor, aided by the restless Bambās from the Jhelum valley, routed Gulāb Singh's troops on the outskirts of Srīnagar, killing Wazīr Lakhpat. Owing, however, to the mediations of Sir Henry Lawrence, Imām-ud-dīn desisted from opposition and Kashmīr passed without further disturbances to the new ruler. At Astor and Gilgit the Dogrā troops relieved the Sikhs, Nathu Shāh, the Sikh commander, taking service under Gulāb Singh. Not long afterwards the Hunza Rājā attacked Gilgit territory. Nathu Shāh retorted by leading a force to attack the Hunza valley; he and his force were destroyed, and Gilgit fort fell into the hands of the Hunza Rājā, along with Punial, Yāsīn, and Darel. The Mahārājā sent two columns; one from Astor and one from Baltistān, and after some fighting Gilgit fort was recovered. In 1852, partly by strategy, partly by treachery, the Dogrā troops were annihilated by the bloodthirsty Gaur Rahmān of Yāsīn, and for eight years the Indus formed the boundary of the Mahārājā's territories.

Gulāb Singh died in 1857; and when his successor, Ranbīr Singh, had recovered from the strain caused by the Mutiny, in which he had loyally sided with the British, he determined to recover Gilgit, and to rehabilitate the reputation of the Dogrās on the frontier. In 1860 a force under Devi Singh crossed the Indus, and advanced on Gaur Rahmān's strong fort at Gilgit. Gaur Rahmān had died just before the arrival of the Dogrās. The fort was taken; and since then the Mahārājās of Jammu and Kashmīr have held it, to their heavy cost, and somewhat doubtful advantage.

Ranbīr Singh was a model Hindu: devoted to his religion and to Sanskrit learning, but tolerant to other creeds. He was in many ways an enlightened man, but he lacked his father's strong will and determination, and his control over the State officials was weak. The latter part of his life was darkened by the dreadful famine in Kashmīr, 1877–9; and in September, 1885, he was succeeded by his eldest son, the present Mahārājā

563

his family subsequent to their acceptance of Islām. Both Hindu and Musalmān Chibs repair annually to the tomb of Shādi Khān at a place in the Kālī Dhar hills in the Naoshera *tahsīl*. Like the Dogrā Rājputs, the Chibs look upon service as the sole career for a man, but both Hindus and Musalmāns till the soil. They are a fighting people, and the spirit of adventure takes them out of their own country. They follow the caste rules of the Hindu Rājputs, but are perhaps stronger and more muscular than the Dogrās to the east. Besides the Chibs, there are Musalmān Rājputs to the west of the Chenāb—the Jarals, the Bhaos (unfavourably known in Akhnūr), the Gakhars, and many others. It should be noticed that the Hindu Chibs give their daughters in marriage to the ruling family of Jammu and Kashmīr.

[564]

[582]

The Bambās and Khakhās.

[101]

Drew, in his book *Jammu and Kashmīr Territories*, suggests that the Bambās and Khakhās of the Jhelum valley might be classed under the head Chibhāli. Very little is known as to when these people migrated into Muzaffarābād and Uri districts, or whence they came; but it is generally admitted that they had a foreign origin. It is probable that the Khakhās have occupied the country on the left bank of the Jhelum for 300 years or more, and that the Bambās, who live on the right bank of the river, came in yet earlier. The Khakhās, who enjoy the proud title of Rājā, are, like the Chibs, Musalmān Rājputs, and trace their descent to Rājā Mal Rāthor. They regard themselves as belonging to the Janjuah tribe. The Bambās, who are styled Sultāns, deprecate a Hindu origin. They claim to belong to the Kureshi tribe, and say that the name Bambā is a corruption of Bānī-Hāshim, and that they are descended from Alī, the son-in-law of Muhammad. The Khakhās and Bambās have a privileged status in the Jhelum valley, and their power has varied according to the weakness or strength of the central authority. Under the Afghāns, the Khakhās and Bambās paid little to their overlord, and were practically independent. The Sikhs tightened their hold over the Jhelum valley, but the Khakhās and Bambās retained certain privileges.

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The Gūjars.

564

[162]

[463]

Numerically the Gūjars are of some importance, both in Jammu, where they number 151,700, and in Kashmīr, where they are returned at 125,650. Some of them have settled down to agriculture; but the great majority are herdsmen, and in the summer months move up to the splendid grazing-grounds above the forests with their buffaloes and goats. They are Musalmāns by religion, and many of the Gūjar tribes speak

Srīvara the lake is called Dala. The cultivation on the lake is peculiar and interesting. Kr 631

Ladākh.—The most westerly province of the high mountainous land spoken of as Tibet is called Ladākh or Ladāg. It is now politically a division of the Kashmīr State, lying between the Himālayas and the Kuenlun mountains, and between Baltistān and Chinese Tibet. The Karakoram range forms the northern boundary as far east as the Karakoram pass. The country is known to educated Tibetans by other names—Mangyāl, Nearis, Māryul. WT 101 131

Ladākh is one of the most elevated regions of the earth, its sparse cultivation ranging from 9,000 to 14,000 feet. The scanty population is found in scattered and secluded valleys, where along the river banks and on alluvial plateaux crops are raised by irrigation. Central Ladākh, which lies in the Indus valley, is the most important division of the country. To the north is Nubra, consisting of the valley of the Nubra river and a portion of the valley of the Shyok. The great floods of the Indus, caused by the descent of glaciers across its stream and that of the Shyok, and the consequent damming back of the Nubra river have caused great destruction to riverain lands, once cultivated but now wastes of granitic sand. Here the fields are fenced to guard the crops from the ponies of traders on their way to Yārkand. The south is the Rupshu country with its great lakes. Rupshu Lake covers an area of 60 to 70 square miles. Tsomoriri is 15 miles in length, and lies at an elevation of 14,900 feet. The lakes are land-locked and brackish. East of Central Ladākh is the lake of Pangkong, and in its neighbourhood crops of beardless barley and peas are raised at an elevation of 14,000 feet. South-west is the country of Zāskār, with a very severe climate chilled by the lofty snow ranges. Physical aspects. WT 133 WT [241] WT [241] WT [233]

The flora of Ladākh is scanty, and timber and fuel are the most pressing wants of the people. The *burtse* (*Eurotia*) is a low-growing bush which gives a fair fuel, and in the high valleys the *dama*, a kind of furze, is burnt. On some hill-sides the pencil cedar (*padam*) occurs; and in occasional ravines the wild willow is found. Arboriculture used to be discountenanced under the Gialpos, on the ground that trees deprived the land of fertility. Botany. WT 137 WT [245]

On the plains up to 17,000 feet wild asses or *kiang* (*Equus hemionus*), antelope (*Pantholops hodgsoni*), wild yak (*Bos grunniens*), ibex (*Capra sibirica*), and several kinds of wild sheep (*Ovis hodgsoni*, *O. vignei*, and *O. nahoor*) are found; and Fauna. WT 136

4: Durand G-3 (1888-93) 1900 AV1 Kashmir AV1

spatching a mission to Chitral in accordance with the wish of Afzul-ul-Mulk, who seemed to be establishing his power firmly throughout the country. My unlucky friend Nizam-ul-Mulk was a refugee in Gilgit, and his affairs required delicate handling; and last, but not least, the Indus valley tribes were uneasy.

A word of explanation as to the position of these tribes and their relation to Kashmir may not be amiss. Looking down the Indus from Bunji, there were on the right bank of the river three independent Shin republics—Gor, Darel and Tangir; on the left bank, some forty miles below Bunji, was the Shin republic of Chilas. The Chilasis had been confirmed disturbers of the peace of old, and had raided into Kashmir territories much to the detriment of the valleys between Astor and Kashmir proper, some of which had been practically ruined and depopulated in consequence of their incursions. In 1855 the Kashmir Durbar had in retaliation invaded Chilas and captured the principal fort. Since that time the Chilasis had been tributary to Kashmir, and an agent of the Durbar's had resided amongst them. The fighting strength of the tribe was estimated at between two and three thousand men, but the calculation was too high, for the race had suffered very severely of late years from the ravages of small-pox. The Chilasis were bigoted Sunni Mahomedans, much under the influence of the Mullahs from Swat who visited the country. Gor, the smallest of the republics, lay nearest Bunji, and was a group of village forts perched thousands of feet above the Indus. The people were quiet and in-

4: Durand G-8 (1888-93) 1900 AV1 Kashmir AV1
Dard AV3
Chitral

K 563 631 offensive, and much in fear of the Chilasis, who in any raids in the Gilgit direction had to pass through their territory. The fighting force of Gor was insignificant, and the little state was tributary to Kashmir. The next republic was Darel; it was K [701] more important than Gor, and could turn out from a thousand to fifteen hundred men. The Durbar troops had in 1866 penetrated into the country, the people of which had made submission, and every year hostages were sent in to Kashmir, and a small tribute paid. Tangir, which lay next, was about equal in importance to Darel, and paid tribute to the rulers of Yasin. Below these tribes stretched a band of country inhabited by Kohistanis of different clans until the Pathan border was reached.

I found on my arrival at Gilgit that the Gor headmen had expressed their anxiety to come more directly under the protection of Kashmir. They were anxious to avoid being drawn into trouble should the Chilasis, as seemed likely, create disturbances, and to throw in their lot openly with Kashmir seemed to offer them the best chance of security. In a few days their representative deputation arrived, and after listening to their views I dismissed them to their homes with suitable presents, pointing out that they had nothing to fear from our side.

D 643 159 648 Rather disturbing news now began to come from Chitral. Umra Khan of Jandol had moved over his border, and occupied a portion of Chitral territory, and Afzul-ul-Mulk clamoured for the despatch of the mission. The arrival of a mission and his recognition as Mehtar by the Government of India would

proprietary rights was the same as in the Punjab, namely 651
" half net assets " or half the profits of the proprietor from land cultivated by tenants-at-will. To arrive at the percentage represented by " half net assets," some deductions were made from the gross produce, 8 per cent. to 10 per cent. altogether, on account of customary payments from the common harvest heap before division. This left the divisible produce at about 90 per cent. At the prevailing rent-rate of half the produce, the net profits of the proprietors would be 45 per cent. of the gross produce, which could leave the share of the State at 22½ per cent. Where cash rents were common, which was seldom the case, another set of " half net assets" was obtainable by the simple process of dividing by two the average net cash rent per acre of a given class of land. Where the State held proprietary rights in all land, as in Kashmir, it was in theory entitled to half the gross produce, which it actually took before the first regular Settlement, but this was changed subsequently, and the standard fixed at 30 per cent. of the gross produce.

Record-of-Rights.—The "*Misal-i-Haqqiyat*" or the 423
Record-of-Rights incorporates in a continuous form all 651
facts relating to each holding and field, and these include, among other things, areas, class of soil, source of irrigation, number and kind of trees, rights of holders and tenants, rents, revenue and cesses and statement of special village customs and of rights in irrigation. Details of *jagirs* and other revenue-free grants and genealogical tables of right-holders are also incorporated in the Record-of-Rights. Changes in the Record-of-Rights in respect of revenue or right-holders, are recorded after every four years in what is known as quadrennial or *Charsala Jamabandi*.

Civil Divisions.—For purposes of civil administration, 631
the State is divided into three parts :—

(1) the province of Jammu,
(2) the province of Kashmir, and
(3) the district of Ladakh.

Consequent on the transfer on lease of the Trans-Indus *illaqa* to the Government of India, the Cis-Indus area comprising Tehsil Bunji which was formerly included in the Gilgit district was amalgamated with the Ladakh district during S. 1992-93 (1935-36). It has, however, now been placed under a Revenue Assistant and is included in the province of Kashmir. The heads of the revenue

[651] The heads of the revenue
631 administration in the provinces of Jammu and Kashmir are the two Governors, while the Ladakh district is under a Wazir Wazarat.

Each province is divided into districts called Wazarats and each district is divided into several Tehsils. Some Tehsils also have sub-divisions called Niabats under them. A statement of these divisions is given below :—

Province.	District.	Tehsil.	Niabat.
Jammu	Jammu	1. Jammu.	
		2. Samba.	
		3. Akhnoor.	
		4. Ranbirsingh-pura.	
	Mirpur	1. Mirpur	Naushera.
		2. Bhimber.	
		3. Kotli.	
	Udhampur	1. Udhampur.	
		2. Ramban.	
		3. Ramnagar.	
		4. Bhadarwah.	
		5. Kishtwar.	
	Reasi	1. Reasi	Gulabgarh.
		2. Rajouri.	
	Kathua	1. Kathua.	
		2. Jasmergarh.	
		3. Basohli.	
Kashmir	Anantnag	1. Anantnag.	
		2. Kulgam.	
		3. Avantipura.	
		4. Srinagar.	
	Baramulla	1. Baramulla.	
		2. Sripratapsingh-pura.	
		3. Uttarmachi-pura.	Gurez. Sopore.

Province.	District.	Tehsil.	Niabat.	631
Muzaffarabad.		1. Muzaffarabad.		
		2. Uri.		
		3. Karnah.		
Astore	..	(Under a Revenue Benji. Assistant).		
Ladakh.	..	1. Ladakh.		
		2. Kargil.		
		3. Skardu.		

depending upon timely rainfall. The population of this division consists of 2,12,420 souls and the area is only 2,658 square miles. 131 133

(d) The Outer Hills.—This comprises the whole country of low-lying hills (called Siwaliks or Sawa Lakh) in the south of the Pir Panjal mountains which partitions the Jammu and Kashmir provinces and whose snowy peaks render the Kashmir valley inaccessible from the Jammu side during the winter months. Tehsil Basoli of Kathua district, the Riasi district, the Udhampur district and tehsil Kishtwar of the Miripur district are all included within this belt which consists mostly of masonry 3,000 ft. to 3,000 ft. high, though in Bhaderwah and Kishtwar the hills reach a height of over 5,000 ft. 141

Excepting the fertile valley of Bhaderwah the country has only patches of cultivated areas spread between the hills covered with scanty and stunted forest growth which *assumes larger and thicker proportions as higher elevation is reached* where the pine and deodar forests form a great source of wealth to the State. Much of the mineral wealth of the State also lies buried in this part of the country and Riasi hills fair to play the role of an important metallurgical centre of the State in future. Although irrigational facilities are very scanty being arranged by small Kuhls drawn from mountainous nullahs or springs, but the cultivation is greatly helped by the larger precipitation that this region is blessed with on account of its proximity to the high Pir Panjal mountains which compel the moisture bearing winds to deposit most of their aqueous vapour in this part of the country. There are fairly populous and well cultivated valleys among the mountains such as Poonch and Rajouri and in the valley of the upper Chenab are the valleys of Ramban and Bhaderwah. Rice and wheat are grown in some parts while maize is the staple food of the Dogra. The area of this division is 6,735 square miles and population runs upto 1,073,393 persons.

Note.—The Divisions I and II comprises the entire Jammu Province.

(e) The Jhelum Valley.—This includes all the three districts of the Kashmir Province having ten tehsils in all :— 631

1. Srinagar District	—	1. Srinagar,
		2. Anantnag,
		3. Kulgam,
		4. Awantipura,
2. Baramulla District	—	5. Baramulla,
		6. Sri Pratapsinghpura,
		7. Uttarmachipura,
3. Muzaffarabad District	—	8. Uri,
		9. Karnah, and
		10. Muzaffarabad.

The seven tehsils of the Srinagar and the Baramulla districts constitute the Kashmir valley proper while Muzaffarabad district (of which only a few villages in Uri enjoy similar characteristics) has also been clubbed into this group to coincide with the administrative division; otherwise this hilly tract with insufficient cultivation and precarious agriculture would rightly fall within the Outer Hills Division. The mountains enclosing this tract have been termed as "The middle mountains" ranging on the average between 6,000 to 10,000 ft. in height although many of the peaks reach 14,000 to 15,000 ft. The valley 133 131

[Create of category VI, Sub Div. Jammu -- Analysis]

131 of Kashmir situated at over 5,000 ft. above sea level and the beautiful side
133 valleys of Sindh and Liddar also belong to this division.

241 It is needless to speak here of cultivation in the valley which is very close
161 and plentiful yielding abundant harvests of Shali (Paddy) the staple food of the Kashmirian. Irrigation is supplied by the *Kuhls* drawn from natural water courses fed by the surrounding snow-clad mountains. The valley is famous for the large variety of its fruits which are exported to the plains in ever-increasing quantities. Besides rice or paddy, maize, wheat and tilgogle also are grown while Trambu (Buckwheat) is grown on the higher regions in small quantity. The area of this division is 8,330 square miles and the population comprises 1,560,510 persons.

131 (iv) *The Indus Valley or the Tibetan and Semi-Tibetan Tracts.*—These
133 form the central portion of the valley of the great river Indus, which taking its
161 source at the Mansarowar lake in Tibet proper traverses the whole of the frontier region of the State running from south-east to north-west upto the bend round Nanga Parbat whereon it assumes south-westerly course till it enters the sea after covering a total length of 1,800 miles from the source. Enclosed by Karakoram on the north and the central range of the Himalayas on the south this division comprises three-fourth of the area of the State but on account of its high altitude and highly mountainous and barren character maintains a population of only 288,584 people giving a density of 5 persons to a square mile. Except Gilgit the ranges in this Ilaqa vary from 17,000 ft. to 22,000 ft. and in Ladakh there are vast deserts, *i. e.*, Lingshitang 14,000 ft. and Kuenlun (17,000 ft. above
631 sea). This includes the three separate administrative divisions:—

1. Ladakh District	...	1. Ladakh, 2. Skardu and 3. Kargil Tehsils.
2. Gilgit District	...	Gilgit Tehsil.
3. Frontier Ilaqas	...	Hunza, Nagar, Yasin, Chilas, Ishkoman, Kuh-Ghizar, Punial Ilaqas included in the Gilgit Agency.

133 The physical characteristics of the various portions of this country differ very widely and we have almost rainless and therefore dry and barren tracts of Ladakh on the one extreme and Baltistan and Gilgit with their lower hill sides and valleys verdant with orchards and corn fields on the other.

162 The Ladakh tehsil is peopled by the Mongoloid (Tibetan) race who
241 owe allegiance to Buddhism while Skardu and Kargil are inhabited by Moslems of Shia and Noorbakshi sects belonging to semi-Tibetan race called Balti. The cultivable area being very small and the rainfall very deficient agriculture is carried on by artificial irrigation with great difficulty and labour, and it is not seldom that terraced fields are reclaimed at the foot of the overhanging cliffs. The Ladakhi custom of polyandry keeps the small holdings intact as the joint family and common-wife system of the Buddhists prevents fragmentation of holdings and also acts as a great check on population. Grain is the chief crop of Ladakh which grows even at a height of 15,000 ft. The population of Gilgit is constituted of Moslems of the Dard race and this small tract enjoys far better climate and cultivation than Ladakh; producing wheat and other crops as also fruits. The production in Frontier Ilaqas is again of an inferior kind.

631 3. *Administrative Divisions.*—As at the preceding Censuses, the State may be divided administratively into two broad divisions:—

(a) The State proper.

(b) Dependencies and Jagirs.

[Errata—read "grain" for "grain"—cf. errata sheet, p. 521, category 16—Analyst]

DEPENDANCIES 5

The State proper has been divided into Provinces, Districts and Tehsils as shown below :— 631

A—STATE PROPER.

Districts or Wazarats	Tehsils
	(1) *Jammu Province.*
1. Jammu ..	(1) Jammu, (2) Akhnoor, (3) Samba, (4) Basholi(Jaghir).
2. Kathua ..	(1) Kathua, (2) Jasrotagarh, (3) Basohli.
3. Bhyar ..	(1) Bhyar, (2) Bhimber, (3) Kotli.
4. Udhampur ..	(1) Udhampur, (2) Ramnagar, (3) Ramban, (4) Bhaderwah, (5) Kishtwar.
5. Riasi ..	(1) Riasi, (2) Rampur Rajouri.
	(2) *Kashmir Province.*
1. Kashmir South (Baramulla)	(1) Sri Pratapsinghpura (Sadgam), (2) Uttarmachhipura, (3) Baramulla.
2. Kashmir South (Srinagar)..	(1) Srinagar, (2) Anantnag, (3) Kulgam, (4) Avantipura.
3. Muzaffarabad ..	(1) Uri, (2) Karnah, (3) Muzaffarabad.
	(3) *Frontier Districts.*
1. Ladakh ..	(1) Skardu, (2) Kargil, (3) Ladakh (including Mauree village situated in Tibetan territory).
2. Gilgit ..	(1) Gilgit.

There are thus altogether ten Districts and thirty one Tehsils in the State proper.

In reality there are only two Governors Provinces *i. e.*, Jammu and Kashmir with Head-quarters in the cities of Jammu and Srinagar respectively. These provinces are not to be construed in the sense in which the word is used in British India as the administration is not provinciallised but is controlled from the centre by His Highness acting through his Ministers and Departmental Heads whose jurisdiction extends all over the State in their respective spheres. The Provincial Governors however, are invested with duplicate functions of Collector and District Magistrate and are subordinate to the Revenue Minister in Revenue matters and to the Minister-in-charge of Judicial and Police Department in matters of maintenance of peace and order in their respective charges. Each province is divided into a convenient number of districts or Wazarats controlled by the Wazir-Wazarat who also act as Sub-Divisional Magistrates. Each district is further sub-divided into tehsils under a Tehsildar.

The Frontier Districts though shown as a province do not in reality constitute a province under a Governor but each of the districts *i. e.*, Gilgit and Ladakh is separately controlled by a Wazir-i-Wazarat who is (unlike other Wazirs) directly under the Revenue Minister like the Provincial Governors.

B—DEPENDANCIES.

636

The following Jagirs and Dependancies are also included in this Census Report as in the past :—

	Tehsils or Illaqas.
1. Poonch Jagir ..	(1) Haveli, (2) Sudhnoti, (3) Mandhar, and (4) Bagh Tehsils.
2. Chenani Jagir ..	
3. Kishtwar Illaqas ..	(1) Paniel, (2) Inderwan, (3) Tasia, (4) Kah and Chhatru, (5) Bhoora, (6) Hagan, and (7) Chatru.

6:India G-3 (1931)1933 AVI Kashmir AV I
Kashmiri AV4

Ki 369 and apportionment of increase due to decennial growth and that due to transfer of new areas will be discussed in the next chapter which deals with the rural and urban phases of the population. Suffice it to say here that the total population of the city at the present Census is 173,573 which compares quite favourably with other cities of British India save the capital cities of the various provinces. The density of the city population is, however, only 15,779 against 38,474 of Jammu city.

Ki 161 **47. Muzaffarabad District.**—The district, known as Wazarat-i-Pahar, is composed of three tehsils extending over an area of 2,407 square miles; of which Karnah occupies 1,347 square miles and Muzaffarabad and Uri 546 and 520 square miles respectively. The total population is 237,447 persons.

As represented in the marginal table Karnah tehsil has the lowest density in the district i. e., 39 while in Muzaffarabad tehsil the population is fairly satisfactory the density being 206. Ki 241 The district is extremely mountainous in character and has got very little level area for cultivation and sustenance of large population. The rate of increase of population of the district during the current decade is 9·9 per cent. against 10·7 per cent. of the preceding decade. Karnah showing the highest increase 11·89 in the district while Muzaffarabad displays only 8·42 per cent. increase.

Name of District or Tehsil.	Population 1931.	Density.	Percentage of variation.		
			1921-1931.	1911-1921.	1901-1911.
Muzaffarabad District ..	237,447	99	+ 9·9	+ 10·7	——
1. Muzaffarabad Tehsil..	113,798	206	+ 8·42	+ 10·3	——
2. Uri Tehsil ..	71,570	137	+ 10·73	+ 9·	—
3. Karnah Tehsil ..	52,079	39	+ 11·89	+ 14·3	....

Out of the total area only 8·2 per cent. is cultivable out of which 97·1 per cent. is net cultivated. There is very little double-cropped area (·04 per cent.).

The normal rainfall is 50·43" for the district which is the highest in the Kashmir Province although on account of the physical configuration the irrigation is the poorest, the irrigated area being 22·7 per cent. of the total cultivated area. Maize is the principal food staple covering as it does about 75·9 per cent. of the total cultivated area, rice, wheat and other food crops including pulses occupying an area of 8 per cent., 6·5 per cent. and 6·7 per cent. respectively.

Ki 161 Although the rate of increase is smaller than that of the previous decade yet the result is satisfactory and could be possible only under a favourable decade. The dislocation caused by the washing off of the Domel and Kishenganga bridges by the floods did give a serious set back to the traffic and trade of the district which is regaining its position after the completion of the bridges.

K 161 ● 631 **48. Frontier Districts : General.**—Though not a separate province the tract constitutes a distinct Natural Division known as the Indus Valley and comprises the Ladakh district, the Gilgit district and the Frontier Illaqas consisting of small chieftainships. K 161 The variation of population in these backward tracts can be studied by a reference to the accompanying table which shows that the " total population " of these districts at the present Census is 288,584 persons against 273,173 of 1921 and in consequence the percentage

Name of District or Tehsil.	Population 1931.	Density.	Percentage of variation.		
			1921-1931.	1911-1921.	1901-1911.
Frontier Districts ..	288,584	5	+ 5·64	+ 3·1	—.—
1. Ladakh District ..	186,138	4	+ 4·72	— 1·7	—.—
2. Gilgit District ..	51,812	10	+ 11·13	+ 10·3	....
3. Frontier Illaqas ..	50,634	4	+ 5·62	+ 13	....

1: Lawrence G-8 (1889-1895) 1895 AV4 Kashmiri AV4
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CHAP. IX.

they would look upon that as the standard, and would omit from their calculations years of famine, flood and pestilence. It is good to be sanguine and to view one's country on the sunny side, but in statistics the average inevitably presents itself. Just as Akbar's statistician included Kabul and Kandahar in the Subah of Kashmír, so more recent notices of Kashmír include parts of Jammu territory, and it is very difficult to ascertain from rough estimates, which are to be found in scattered notices, how much of these estimates should be credited to the Valley of Kashmír. In order to prevent any mistake in future I must explain that the Valley of Kashmír treated of in this Report, and in this chapter, consists of the three wazárats or districts of Khás, Anantnág, and Sopur, and excludes the wazárat or district of Muzzafarabad, which lies below Bárámula. When I commenced work in Kashmír there were three wazárats in the valley—Khás, Anantnág, and Sopur, and there were fifteen tahsils distributed as follows:—

	Tahsils.
1. Khás Wazárat	1. Khás. 2. Ich Nagám. 3. Donzu Manchámu. 4. Walar Vihu. 5. Cherat.
2. Anantnág Wazárat	6. Anantnág. 7. Sri Ranbír Singhpura. 8. Deosar. 9. Dachenpára. 10. Shupiyon.
3. Sopur or Kámráj	11. Lál. 12. Hamalzámigir. 13. Uttar Machipura. 14. Biru Magam. 15. Kribun.

I have maintained three wazárats, as before, but have reduced the tahsils to eleven. They are as follows:—

1. Khás Wazárat	1. Lál-Phák. 2. Srinagar. 3. Sri Partáb Singhpura. 4. Nagám.
2. Anantnág Wazárat	5. Wantipura. 6. Anantnág. 7. Haripura. 8. Sri Ranbír Singhpura.
3. Sopur Wazárat	9. Uttar Machipura. 10. Sopur. 11. Patan.

1s Lawrence G-3 (1889-1895) 1895 AV4 Kashmiri AV4 Kashmir AV1

Ki 631 Kr 631 [312]

It should be explained that the Gurais valley, which, previous to Settlement, formed part of the Gilgit province, has been surveyed and assessed and is now part of the new Sopur Tahsil. The changes in the administrative divisions made by me were based on two principles, one, that so far as possible each irrigation system of the country should be under the jurisdiction of one tahsildar, the other that the river Jhelum should be utilized as the boundary of the tahsil.

The local divisions of Kashmír have varied considerably. In old days the country was divided into two parts, Maráj, the south, and Kámráj, the north. Tradition says that two brothers, Marhan and Kaman, fought for the crown, and that all the country below Srinagar fell to Kaman and was known as Kamanráj, and that all above became the territory of Marhan and was known as Marhanráj. These local divisions are still recognized by the people, and the *patois* of Maráj differs from that of Kámráj, and both differ from that of Yámráj which is the old name for Srinagar. In these divisions were thirty-four subdivisions, still recognized by the people, and though the State may for administrative purposes make changes in boundaries and in designation, the old names will linger on, and the people of Ranbir Singhpura Tahsil will style themselves residents of Shahabad and Brang for many years to come. In 1871 we find that the country was divided into five wazárats or districts, Srinagar, Patan, Anantnág, Kámráj, and Shupiyon. These were again subdivided into thirty-seven tahsils. In 1887, that is just before the Settlement commenced, there were four districts, Srinagar, Haripur or Shupiyon, Kámráj, and Anantnág. These districts contained twenty-eight tahsils and were said to contain 2,487 villages.

The Kashmír valley, with its three wazárats and its eleven tahsils, is under the executive charge of the Hákim-i-Ala, or Governor of Kashmír. This officer is also the executive head of the districts of Gilgit, Astor and Muzzafarabad. Ladakh and Skardu districts are under the charge of the Hákim-i-Ala or Governor of Jammu. As before explained, the statistics contained in this chapter refer to the Valley of Kashmír as comprised in the three districts of Khás, Anantnág, and Sopur, with eleven tahsils, and *do not include* Muzzafarabad, Gilgit, or Astor.

Ki 161

Population.

In 1835 it was stated that the population of the valley did not exceed 200,000 persons, 'to which number it had been in twenty years reduced from 800,000 by oppression and the awful dispensation of earthquake, pestilence, and famine.'

Ki 162

In 1868 a census was taken of the population of Srinagar, but its accuracy was doubted. The census gave a population of 112,715 persons, of whom 24,945 were Hindus and 87,770 Muhammadans. The number of houses was stated to be 20,304.

6:Spate N-4 (no date)1954 AWl India
KASHMIR
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433 have a high standard of durability. The supply of hides and skins was large, as the Hindu orthodoxy of the ruling house prohibited cow-slaughter and so inflated the numbers of cattle. The production of high-grade rag paper was once important, but has declined before the growth of the Indian mill
505 industry. Finally we may note the importance of water-borne traffic: much of the provisioning of the city is done by flat-bottomed boats, 50–60 ft long and drawing 2 ft or so, which can carry up to 30 tons of cargo. The boatmen, particularly those who man the tourist house-boats, have a reputation for supplementing licit earnings by following the world's second oldest trade.

487 Much of the importance of the Vale, and hence of Srinagar, lies in its function as a staging-base on the Himalayan routes. The Sn entries have already been mentioned; to the NW the road to Gilgit and the Oxus lies across the Raj Diangan Pass (11,800 ft) into the Kishen Ganga Valley and then by the Burzil (13,755) into Astor; both these passes not without danger in winter. But the most important trade route, leading either up the Indus into Tibet or across the Karakoram into Sinkiang, is that to the NE by the Zoji La. At 11,578 ft this is the lowest col on the main W Himalayan axis, a pass of the Maloja type with the steep ascent on the S: this is due to the Sind cutting back into the headwaters of the Dras, which lies on the drier side of the mountains and has much farther to go before it reaches 5200 ft, the local base-level of the Sind.

161 If anywhere on earth presents the semblance of the Happy Valley of
439 *Rasselas*, it is the Vale of Kashmir; but however pleasant the prospects, the
661 human history of the region has been, on the whole, vile. To begin with, it is probably over-populated; density in Anantnag (Srinagar) Dt is 303 (and of course far higher in relation to cultivated area), and it is significant that sugar and grain come next to cotton goods in the Kashmiri import list. Beyond this it is hardly an exaggeration to say that the whole history of Kashmir for the last few centuries has been one of misgovernment and oppression, often deliberate, of the peasantry for the benefit of narrow Court cliques; nor was this tradition dead in this century. At this point it is probably appropriate to discuss the present Indo-Pakistani conflict.

THE KASHMIR DISPUTE

631 'The trouble in Kashmir' stems finally from the simple fact that a popu-
668 lation 77% Muslim was ruled by a family of the strictest Hindu orthodoxy, descendants of a particularly able and ruthless *condottiere* under the Sikhs, Gulab Singh of Jammu, who 'mediated' between British and Sikhs to his own profit. It is safe to say that at no time in the century's existence of the state have relations between the dominant Dogra Rajputs of Jammu and the Muslim majority been other than those of exploiters and exploited, to such an extent that until quite recently agricultural progress was still

6:Spate N-4 (no date)1954 AWI India
KASHMIR AV I

inhibited by the peasant's simple reflection that, if any profit resulted, the tax-gatherer would seize it. 631 668

With the removal of British rule the throne of Kashmir became more than shaky; it is ironic to reflect that, while Congress had frequently proclaimed that only British bayonets kept the Princes on their thrones, *Indian* bayonets were not backward to support the least reputable of the major ruling houses.[18] Legally the ruler's right of adherence to *India* is unquestionable, and this is the basis of the *Indian* claim. Pakistan, of course, points to *Indian* inconsistency in apparently refusing the same right of option—or even of abstaining from option—to the Nizam of Hyderabad. It is not difficult, however, to put forward a reasonable justification of *India's* action in Hyderabad, and moreover Pakistanis are not really entitled to make this point, since shortly before the Kashmir crisis exploded they were seemingly prepared to accept the adherence of the Muslim ruler of Hindu Junagadh, which is not even contiguous with Pakistan.[19] The Pakistani case was still further weakened by complicity in the invasion of NWFP tribesmen; but the alternative might well have been an incursion into the Punjab, and they could only have been restrained by force of Muslim against Muslim: in the summer of 1947 this would have been beyond human nature. The respective proportion of looting and liberation in this tribal incursion cannot be evaluated, and the situation was worse confounded by the virtual war-within-a-war of the Punchis in support of their own ruler against the Dogras of Jammu. It seems that at first many 'Azad Kashmir' troops were genuine volunteers from the Pakistan army, returning on leave (rather freely granted) to their homes in Punch. Later, however, Pakistani intervention was avowed, and this has given *India* her strongest diplomatic weapon. On the *Indian* side much has been made of the democratic nature of Shaik Abdullah's 'People's Government' and its programme of reforms such as the expropriation of (mainly Hindu) landlords. It is impossible to reach any firm judgement. At present there is an uneasy truce along a cease-fire line which leaves *India* holding Jammu and part of Punch, all the Vale, and most of Ladakh W of the Burzil Pass. The charges of oppression from both sides of this line are too probably true, and again it is impossible to assess fairly the work of the rival governments; either territory is in the full swing of rehabilitation and social reform, or stagnant and starving, according to the source of information so liberally supplied by either party.

Leaving these legal and moral issues aside, as appearing to the candid outsider pretty fairly balanced, it would seem that if economic geography should count for anything, then Pakistan's case is stronger than 433 668

[18] It must be admitted, however, that His Highness has been relegated to an obscurity more decent than his previous fame. It is sad to reflect that this tragedy is in the last resort the result of the decision of one man placed in his position by the historic accident of a century ago.

[19] And the Junagadh question is still not entirely dropped.

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KASHMIR
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433 668 *India's*. The importance of Kashmir water to W Punjab, for both irrigation and power, has been stressed already; Kashmiri timber was also very important to W Punjab, and conversely had its main outlet there, since exploitation depended largely on rafting down the rivers which all flowed into *W* Punjab. The Sialkot sports goods industry used Kashmir willow and resin. The import of salt for the Kashmir tanneries is also more costly from *India* than from the Salt Range mines, and Pakistan would obviously find it easier to supply the food deficit than would *India*. Oil is essential for transport into the Vale, and Pakistanis claim that the natural supply would be from Attock or SW Asia through Karachi.

491 The natural links of Kashmir are mainly with W Punjab. All roads are difficult to maintain, but the Jhelum route is really the only all-weather one. It is only 185 miles from Srinagar to Rawalpindi, 250 to Amritsar, and the *Indian* route is badly snow-bound (or at least impeded) for three months on the Banihal Pass, while its sub-Himalayan stretch lies athwart the drainage of an area notoriously liable to gullying and landslips. Fruit and timber were the largest exports from Kashmir, and while Pakistan has far more potential resources in temperate fruits than has *India*, the timber situation is the reverse.

• 631 668 Six years after the original outbreak no solution of this not so cold war was remotely in sight. At this stage Shaik Abdullah showed signs of playing his own hand and was obviously reluctant to enter the *Indian* union on the same terms as the other states; indeed he secured substantial constitutional concessions. His supersession further inflamed Pakistani feeling, fearful of a *fait accompli*; but at the same time the crisis held a clear warning that *India* also could overplay her hand *vis-à-vis* the Kashmiris. Hence the dramatic suddenness with which, in August, 1953, both countries agreed at last on a time limit—twelve months—for the ever-receding plebiscite.

But the organisation of it will raise difficulties. Is it to be a simple yes or no, *India* or Pakistan? If the Kashmiris are to decide, it might be that they should have the option of opting for neither, risky as that might be. *India* and Pakistan are likely to be at one in vetoing this, if in nothing else. Then again neither side, for internal political reasons, could well accept complete cession as a result of a possibly narrow adverse majority. However unsatisfactory, and however difficult it is to decide on the basic units, partition seems the only way out.

Indus Kohistan and Gilgit

Nanga Parbat and the Gorges

133 Nanga Parbat, the mighty NW pillar of the Great Himalaya, is almost separated from the main mass by the valleys of the Kishen Ganga and the

6:Spate N-4 (no date)1954 AW1 India
KASHMIR AV1

133 communication—impossible in winter—is easier (*le mot juste!*) over the shoulders of the mountains.

133 241 The Astor Valley marks the transition from the vivid colours of rock, field, and wood in the Vale to the desolate outer marches of Kashmir. Agriculture in this dry valley is carried up to 9000 ft by little irrigation channels, but low temperatures render it precarious: wheat, barley, pulses, maize, buckwheat, lucerne, and other fodder crops are grown.

Gilgit

631 Beyond the Indus lies Gilgit, and around it the Frontier Illaqas, more or less feudatory to Kashmir. Although we have it on the high authority of Holdich that "here small parties of Buddhist pilgrims "made their way with infinite pain and difficulty to the great monasteries of the Peshawar plains, no military force of any consequence ever has, or ever could, follow their footsteps",[28] nervousness about Russian intentions led to the preservation of the long panhandle of Afghan territory, 15–25 miles wide, in Wakhan, the valley of the Ab-i-Panja branch of the Oxus, and at no point did the two great Empires actually touch.

Outside Gilgit itself the area is held by a congeries of petty tribal republics and chieftaincies of which Hunza is the most important; Schomberg gives them all (except Hunza and Yasin) a bad name for turbulence, murder, intrigue, avarice, dishonesty, laziness, stupidity, and general backwardness. The population is very slight, in Gilgit and the frontier some 120,000 in all on 18,000 sq mls; the density in Astor is 10, Gilgit proper 15, Frontier Illaqas 4. But in relation to cultivated area it is a different story—in 1901 the Gilgit density was 1295.

161

361 241 Settlement is usually on little terraces in the better valleys; one such is occupied by Gilgit itself, a nodal centre near the junction of the Gilgit and Hunza Rivers, which between them drain nearly the whole area between the Indus and the 20,000–22,000 ft peaks of the Hindu Kush. At Gilgit rice and cotton are grown as well as the usual montane crops and fruits; higher up Yasin has even a tiny export of wheat and barley. Hunza is even better: 30–40 sq mls of tiny terraced fields, orchards and poplars, and "curling along the bleak stony hillsides" carefully engineered *kuls* provided with little tunnels for the escape of scree from the slopes above. "All are of dry masonry, all have been built without scientific aid, with nothing more than industry, common sense, and the usual tools of a peasant; ibex horns were chiefly used." Fruit culture is of the utmost importance to life in these valleys, and above all the apricot, according to Schomberg the sole diet for weeks on end.[29]

[28] *India* (1904), 105; but cf. Sir Aurel Stein, "A Chinese Expedition across the Pamirs and Hindukush, A.D. 747", *GJ* LIX (1922), 112–31. Lord Ronaldshay (*Lands of the Thunderbolt* (1923), 141) aptly calls Gilgit and Chitral "listening-posts in the vast system of natural defences which keep silent and eternal watch over the teeming plains of Hindustan."

[29] Schomberg, *op. cit.*, 59–60, 112–13.

4/1 [i.e., OF Indus Kohistan -- ANALYST]